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The Nation.

March 14, 1981 $1

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EDITORIAL

THE REAGAN CONFUSION

For the fuzziness of Jimmy Carter's two-headed policy toward the Soviet Union, Ronald Reagan has substituted a nonpolicy. Carter used to talk out of both sides of his mouth, depending on whether Cyrus Vance had his left ear or Zbigniew Brzezinski his right one. It was often hard to tell whether the carrot was being tendered to, or the stick brandished at, Moscow.

That was the Carter Confusion, much criticized by those who like their foreign policy served up with clarity. Reagan and Alexander Haig, in contrast, are speaking in harmony, with the old, built-in contradictions. The hair-raising rhetoric about Communist Aims for World Domination is there: Leonid is the chief guerrilla in El Salvador. But the response to Brezhnev's grab-bag oration to the 26th Communist Party Congress has been fork-tongued, to say the least. That is the Reagan Confusion.

Reagan said he was "most interested" in Brezhnev's words about pursuing arms limitation talks, though there was nothing new in them. Haig descried "some new and remarkable innovations" in those same formulas. There will, however, be no U.S. initiatives to follow up these interesting "innovations."

In Reaganville they call that "leadership." The trouble is that our allies have lost the habit of following such calls to arms. They have noticed the U.S. habit of supporting tin-pot dictators wherever that suited the commercial or hegemonic aims showing through threadbare global anti-Communism.

The Salvadoran rebels taking cover in ditches from U.S. helicopters can reflect bitterly on the "swift and sure punishment" Reagan promised we would visit on "state-sponsored terrorism." Meanwhile, no "most interested" answer to those "innovations" from Moscow is in sight.

TIME INC. RENEWS AMERICA
Nicholas von Hoffman

ON NAMING C.I.A. AGENTS
Philip Agee
Thomas Powers
Frances FitzGerald
Aryeh Neier
Thomas I. Emerson
Frank Donner
Jean Bethke Elshtain
Edward Jay Epstein

RURAL INDIA IN REVOLT
Kai Bird

GUATEMALA'S INDIAN WARS
Clifford Krauss

FIGHTING THE NEXT WARS

THE NEW COUNTER-INSURGENCY

MICHAEL T. KLARE

Just six years after the end of the Vietnam War, U.S. military advisers are again being committed to a guerrilla conflict in the Third World. On March 2, Secretary of State Alexander Haig announced that he was sending another twenty advisers to join the thirty-five or so already in El Salvador, where Government forces are fighting a bloody war with revolutionary guerrillas. And while Haig insists that the United States is not embarking on "a second Vietnam," as charged by some Congressional critics, one of his aides confirmed that the advisory group in El Salvador includes "a counterinsurgency operational planning and assistance team."

Counterinsurgency. Perhaps no word more vividly describes the military priorities of the 1960s, when President Kennedy's obsession with guerrilla warfare led us inexorably into the Indochinese war. After Vietnam, no word disappeared more quickly from the military lexicon, as Washington adopted a new foreign policy based on negotiation and nonintervention. Instead of focusing on problems of "brush-fire wars" and "unconventional operations," the Pentagon turned its attention to the revitalization of NATO and other "post-Vietnam" priorities. But now, as the Reagan Administration places renewed emphasis on meeting the threat of revolutionary conflict in the Third World, counterinsurgency is again sweeping into fashion in Washington.

Jeane Kirkpatrick, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, had warned early on that the new Administration will be far more vigorous than the old in combating "Castroite" guerrillas

(Continued on Page 307)

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LETTERS.

PROTESTING AND SURVIVING

New York City

My initial reaction to E. P. Thompson's "A Letter to America" [*The Nation*, Jan. 24], which I first read in prison, was "Splendid! Thank God!" My second was more reflective and contained a bit of nationalist pique: "Thompson's essay is a late, Western European paraphrase of the work of Thomas Merton, Sidney Lens, Dorothy Day, Daniel Ellsberg, Robert Aldridge, Daniel Berrigan and Elaine Douglass, some of it dating from the mid-1940s." And my third: "They were/are scholars of nuclear Satanism, as Thompson is. But most of them withstood the state nonviolently, to be imprisoned for their civil disobedience."

Those alive today (Merton and Day are deceased) will concur with Thompson in the following: The United States is *the* nuclear provocateur (we needed an enemy, the U.S.S.R., to make credible our imperial adventurism and permanent war economy); our nuclear policy is first strike (counterforce)—always implicit, now made explicit by Carter's Directive 59; American pharaohs are psychotic with the delusion that "limited" nuclear war can be fought, contained (on other soil) and won; the mid-1980s promise enough counterforce deployment to tempt a disarming first strike by the United States, or a paranoid, pre-emptive strike by the U.S.S.R.; nuclear war is inevitable *if* the current myopic, mad momentum remains unchecked.

Gandhi once wrote that the solution to most of the world's problems rested with the difference between what we are and what we ought to be. In light of our universal peril under the Bomb—a peril potentially suicidal—what ought we to be?

Thompson refers to the hope attending a "worldwide spiritual revulsion against the Satanic Kingdom." Spiritual rebirth seems more modest and apt to me—one that would allow the growth of certain convictions: that nuclear war *must* be prevented; that superpower politicians will not disarm (I'm convinced they are powerless to do so) but that people will; that our main resource for disarmament is not governments and institutions but one another; that justice and peace will require radical change in us—change of values, consumption and action—and that the Bomb beckons us to a new global order or to global suicide.

Such convictions would inspire a fundamentally new view of ourselves, the human family, the planet. They would greet with revulsion and resistance the lethal, obsolescent absurdities of nation-state ideologies and divisions; the unrealities of sexual, class and racial inequality; the Big Lie of war and war-making; the stupefying injustice of taxation/waste for universal incineration and suicide. Such convictions would free us to see one another not as enemies or objects (as superstate manipulation would have it) but as sisters and brothers commanded to defend everyone against the nuclear conspirators and criminals.

To this point in history, millions have compulsively offered themselves for war. But now we must ask, since our lives depend upon the asking—who will offer themselves for justice, disarmament and peace?

Finally, what we ought to be will stem from spirit and action. We can study our Judeo-Christian tradition, with its unvarying imperatives of justice and peace. We can ponder the nonviolent philosophers of voluntary poverty and resistance to the State—Woolman, Thoreau, Gandhi, Tolstoy and Day. We can master the *truth* of cold-war history, and American leadership of it. We can awaken our synagogues and churches to their biblical vocations of resistance to governmental lies and violence. We can testify for peace at bomb factories, war bases and Federal installations. Most critically, we can break the law by refusing military taxation and by nonviolent disruption at centers of nuclear terrorism—the Pentagon, White House, Congress, Electric Boat (Groton, Connecticut), G.E. (King of Prussia, Pennsylvania), Pantex (Amarillo, Texas) and the Trident submarine base (Bangor, Washington).

All of us totter on the brink of the nuclear abyss. We can catch our balance, step back and begin to build a future of justice, unity and peace. In reality, we have no choice. And so, we can, we must, we will. *Philip Berrigan*

Boston

E. P. Thompson's article is eloquent, well documented and, in general, well reasoned. His piece, nevertheless, avoids two crucial questions: Can we get rid of nuclear weapons without getting rid of the war system? And if we could, would it be worthwhile to do so?

I have my own answers to these questions. I doubt that we can eliminate nuclear weapons unless the war system as a whole is confronted and attacked (the word is chosen advisedly; I am a strong believer in nonviolent aggression in certain circumstances). Further, although the elimination of nuclear weapons is clearly desirable in itself, we would not be much better off if nuclear weapons were abolished but the logic of the war system remained intact. Nuclear weapons are one of the "logical" culminations of a system based on the fear and the threat of death and destruction, but they are not the only horrors in the modern arsenal, nor the only horrors that the minds of men may yet devise.

More modest goals are not necessarily more realistic goals. Transforming the nation-state system and gaining acceptance of the same standards of civility in international affairs that we at least pretend to adhere to in domestic affairs may well appear extremely difficult. There is little evidence, however, that by espousing more "moderate" objectives we can come to grips with the issue that ultimately concerns Thompson: human survival.

The Nation does a fine job with reportage on what matters politically—and even with stirring us to feel that we ought to be doing something. But its pages would be enhanced by more debate about *what* we ought to be doing. In the ongoing debate it would be a serious omission to leave out pacifist perspectives. At present pacifist views are poorly represented in nonpacifist publications (including *The Nation*), but in the circumstances we now face it would be folly to dismiss these views as merely "eccentric" or "utopian."

Beverly Woodward

KEEP THOSE LETTERS COMING, BUT KEEP THEM SHORT, PLEASE.

In Memoriam–
MARY SIMON
January 7, 1981

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Editor, Victor Navasky

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EDITORIALS.

Oil, Not Peace

Some things never change. One of them is this country's policy in the Middle East. Regardless of whether a Republican or Democrat occupies the White House, the United States' overriding objective in the Middle East is continuing secure access to the region's oil. Ronald Reagan is no different, despite his rhetorical flourishes on behalf of Israel's security. A settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict is always given lower priority than U.S. national security requirements. Thus, it came as no surprise when Secretary of State Alexander Haig announced that the "strategic reality" of Soviet "expansionism" has put the resumption of Egyptian-Israeli talks on Palestinian self-rule on his diplomatic back burner.

Recently, the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Senator John Tower, told the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia that he will support the Saudi request for added wing fuel tanks and racks for air-to-air missiles on the sixty-two F-15 tactical jet fighters they have ordered. Both Haig and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger are also reported to favor giving the Saudi customers the accessories they want on their $2 billion order.

The Israelis, of course, protest that this additional equipment will enable Saudi F-15s to strike Tel Aviv in the next Arab-Israeli war. Moreover, many U.S. Middle East experts, including one who writes under the Arab pseudonym Abdul Kasim Mansur, in *Armed Forces Journal* (September 1980), say that they believe the Saudis cannot absorb an avalanche of sophisticated American armaments much longer without placing a fatal internal stress on the Saudi monarchy itself. Even now, the royal family fears a repeat of the 1969 Air Force coup attempt almost as it does the Russians and, reportedly, Saudi pilots are only allowed to fly their planes with the missiles and ammunition removed. Clearly, what is at stake from the Saudi perspective is a matter of prestige and pretense. The Saudis need to bluff their Iranian and Iraqi neighbors. And the Saudi royal family needs to demonstrate to its own people that the United States, despite its pro-Israel rhetoric, is actually willing to be "evenhanded" in its arms sales to the region.

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Evenhanded is what the Reagan Administration will be: the Saudis will get their bomb racks and the Israelis will be pacified with fifteen additional F-15 jet fighters at preferential financial terms. In addition, reports Walter Cronkite, the Israelis will use this opportunity to press their requests for a sophisticated spy satellite, which they will need to provide early warning of any attack by the Saudi F-15s.

Thus, the Middle East arms race will continue to escalate. The Saudis, who already spend a phenomenal $20.7 billion a year on defense, are now negotiating to buy 200 Tornado jet fighters, built jointly by the British, Italians and West Germans, at a cost of $7.5 billion. Rather than seeking to halt the spiral, Washington encourages the Arabs in their folly in order to assure the flow of oil and recycled petrodollars for Western arms. Peace, unfortunately, is not good for business in the Middle East.

Lefever Strikes

On the evening of Friday, February 27, after the foreign press offices had closed for the weekend, Argentina's national police arrested eight persons who make up much of what is left of the country's human-rights leadership. Among those arrested was Emilio Mignone, a former university rector, the president of an organization that documents "disappearances" in Argentina and a leading figure in efforts to draw international attention to repression in Argentina. Shortly before his arrest, Mignone was in Geneva attempting to persuade the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to continue the mandate of its working group on disappearances.

Until recently, the United States could be counted on to take a vigorous role in supporting efforts by international bodies to protect human rights. In Geneva, however, Mignone did not receive any help from the U.S. delegation. France, supported by the other West European governments with representatives on the Commission on Human Rights, took the lead in proposing a resolution to extend the life of the working group on disappearances. Argentina, as might be expected, opposed the resolution. So did the Soviet Union, a principal trading partner of Argentina and an antagonist of international inquiries into its own human-rights practices. As for the United States . . . well, that gets a little complicated.

From what we can gather, there was a struggle within the State Department over what position the United States should take. The Latin American and European bureaus, we are told, wanted to support the French and the other West Europeans in maintaining the disappearances working group. They were opposed, however, by Ernest Lefever, President Reagan's nominee to serve as Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs. True to his belief that what governments do to their own people is their own business, Lefever proposed that the United States line up with Argentina and the Soviet Union.

Eventually, a compromise was reached, which the United States helped work out. The working group on disappearances will continue, but under conditions that, as Argentina interprets them, will prohibit it from making public reports. That way, Argentina expects to keep its gross abuses of human rights out of the international spotlight.

Did the actions of the United States in Geneva play any part in the arrests of Mignone and his colleagues in Buenos Aires a few days later? Is this another signal that the Reagan Administration will look the other way when right-wing governments violate human rights? We can only speculate. Our guess is that Ernest Lefever, whose nomination has yet to come before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has already left his mark on the courageous human-rights movement in Argentina.

Coming Up in The Nation

"Race and Class"

By Manning Marable

Author of *From the Grassroots* and a leader of the National Black Independent Political Party.

With comments by Roger Wilkins, Aryeh Neier and others.

Also: David Noble on the Cultural War
Fred Halliday on Iran
Alan Wolfe on Creationism

Slender Threads

In our continuing drive to identify and chastise the worst evils, we sometimes lose sight of hopeful developments. We intend to remedy this blind spot by occasionally pointing to emergent forces for betterment—green shoots that need nurturing; hopeful signs; Slender Threads, *as we'll call them from here on out. Two examples follow.*

—The Editors

In the current movie *9 to 5*, Jane Fonda, Dolly Parton and Lily Tomlin play office workers who, in their sexist boss's absence, create a more humane workplace. The movie was indirectly inspired by the activities of an organization called Working Women. On March 3, an organizing campaign by Working Women and District 925 of the Service Employees' International Union (S.E.I.U.) was announced in New York. Karen Nussbaum, executive director of Working Women, will serve as acting president of 925, which will negotiate collective-bargaining agreements. At a press conference in New York City she said the drive is aimed at the twenty million secretarial and clerical workers in this country—the least unionized group of workers. The union will be open to men and women but will be predominantly female, since women make up 78 percent of the secretarial-clerical work force. Their wages, Nussbaum points out, average about $10,000 annually. Working Women is a national organization with 10,000 members, which has helped women workers in banking, insurance and publishing; it will continue as a separate entity.

At District 925's inaugural press conference, Nussbaum

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mentioned that the fight to organize clerical workers will have many parallels to the struggle to organize health-care workers, in which the S.E.I.U. has been a leader, as has District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees. As it happens, one such organizational struggle by the latter is the subject of our second Slender Thread. Charles Bagli, a writer who lives in Amherst, Massachusetts, and specializes in labor reporting, observed an incident in his own backyard which resulted in a victory for nursing-home workers, despite management's use of hired-gun union busters. His report follows:

The A.F.L.-C.I.O. estimates that there are more than 300 firms specializing in the multimillion-dollar business of foiling union elections or breaking unions. But now union organizers are learning how to mobilize public sympathy against the professional union busters. An example is a recent strike at the Amherst Nursing Home in Amherst, Massachusetts. The sixty nonprofessional members of the nursing home staff had been without a contract since May when they went on strike last September 23. The main issues were wages, better patient care and union security.

The owners of the nursing home, Betty Kravetz and Louis Cohn, hired the law firm of Skoler, Abbott and Hayes to negotiate with District 1199, representing the workers. They offered a 25-cent wage increase that would have brought most workers up to the 1981 minimum wage. On all other substantive issues management was intransigent, especially on union security. This is a common union-busting tactic designed to precipitate a strike, which it did. Management and the law firm counted on winning easily, given the impoverished state of the workers and public opposition to strikes in the health-care sector.

The union did not sit still. Three days before the strike, 1199 staged a demonstration at the offices of Skoler, Abbott and Hayes. It was a publicity gambit designed to make union busting the issue and to counter management's allegations of worker indifference to patient care.

The strike developed broad community support. Students from the University of Massachusetts, faculty, a tenant group (Cohn also owns apartment complexes in the area), women's groups, university clerical staff (also negotiating with Skoler, Abbott and Hayes) and members of a nearby United Electrical Workers local walked the picket line and donated badly needed funds. In the course of the strike fifteen people were arrested. It was Amherst's first labor conflict. Saturday's normally uneventful shopping was interrupted by a jubilant march through town of 300 strikers and supporters. All of this forced the town powers interested in preserving Amherst's image to pressure Kravetz and Cohn to capitulate. On the sixth day of the strike, management settled. The workers won a wage increase, retroactivity, safety language and an agency shop. Every one of the compromises had been on the bargaining table before the strike.

The approach of the District 1199 union organizers was important to the success of the strike. An aggressive campaign that anticipated the moves of Skoler, Abbott and Hayes and stressed that a living wage and union busting were the real issues was the key to victory. The hard work that went into developing community support paid off. As the state of the economy declines, attempts at union busting will grow. Concerted action like that in Amherst is what is needed to resist management's attempt to force a declining standard of living on the workers.

THEN—AND NOW

"Under the stepped-up program of aid to South Vietnam . . . United States forces are manning helicopters and small transport planes and participating in coastal and river patrols by small, fast craft. It was decided that the operational functions should be placed under a separate command. There was a political reason for the division. The military advisory groups, because they have been limited to training, have achieved a status and identification throughout the world. It was thought best to maintain the status lest the Communists be given any ground for charging that the military advisory groups were engaged in direct military operations. . . . The United States wished to make plain that South Vietnam was a special situation and that United States forces were taking part in the operations because of the constant attacks by the Communist guerrilla forces known as the Viet Cong. . . . A Pentagon spokesman said today [that] 'we're drawing a line here . . . this is a war we can't afford to lose.' . . . these men 'are not in combat.' Nevertheless they have instructions to shoot back if shot at. . . . "

—*The New York Times*, February 9, 1962

"Discussing the nature of the American assistance, which is in political dispute here, Under Secretary of State George W. Ball insisted that no United States combat units were in Vietnam, that 'we are not fighting the war' and that 'we are not running the war.' "

—*The New York Times*, May 1, 1962

"It is entirely appropriate to dispatch noncombat advisers to tell those people how to defend themselves against Cuba."

—Senator Howard H. Baker Jr., February 25, 1981

"We're sending, and have sent, teams down there to train. They do not accompany them into combat. They train recruits in the garrison area and, as a matter of fact, we have such training teams in more than 30 countries today. And we've always done that. . . . I don't see any likelihood of us going in with fighting forces. I do see our continued work in the field of diplomacy with neighboring countries that are interested in Central America and South America to bring this violence to a halt. And to make sure that we do not just sit passively by and let this hemisphere be invaded by outside forces."

—President Ronald Reagan, March 3, 1981

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CENTRAL AMERICA WATCH.

The Reagan Administration has focused considerable public attention on its allegations of Soviet-bloc arms shipments to El Salvador, but recent reports from Central America indicate that Washington itself is concentrating much of its military hardware and personnel elsewhere in the region—namely, in Honduras. The poorest country in Central America, Honduras has everything Reagan could dream of in a banana republic: little organized opposition to its longstanding military dictatorship; a backward economy quickly boosted by modest infusions of U.S. aid; primitive political structures easily swayed by U.S. influence and, most important, a sprawling and rugged frontier, the only one in Central America that touches on all three of the region's "trouble zones"—El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua.

The three countries, along with Honduras, have been played off against one another since the first glimmer of gunboat diplomacy at the beginning of the century; in 1954 the United Fruit/C.I.A.-directed coup overthrowing the socialist President Jácobo Arbenz of Guatemala was proclaimed and guided from Tegucigalpa, the capital of Honduras, and the 1967 twenty-four-hour "soccer war" between El Salvador and Honduras served to attract U.S. military assistance to both countries, which then liberally applied these arms to their own internal problems of civilian unrest. After the fall of Nicaragua's Anastasio Somoza in July 1979, thousands of his loyal National Guardsmen sought political asylum in Honduras; some 5,000 to 10,000 remain there today.

Since that time, the United States has quietly been stepping up the armament, and sprucing up the public image, of Honduras. Last March, the Carter Administration sent ten helicopters to that country on a special "lend-lease" program that had not been implemented since Vietnam. In late April, military dictator Policarpo Paz García yielded to U.S. State Department pressure and held national elections, which were then heralded in the United States as "a blow for democracy." Honduras had not held Presidential elections for a decade, yet the April elections were more show than substance, selecting a "Constituent Assembly"—a sort of constitutional convention—whose primary duty was to set a date and lay the groundwork for a Presidential election. Yet today, almost a year later, that date has not been set. General Paz García also took advantage of the April elections to announce the extension of his "provisional Presidency" for at least another eighteen months.

In the meantime, U.S. military support for this "bastion of democracy" is on the increase. Arms shipments have been arriving at the port of San Lorenzo with regularity since last fall, some of them then rerouted to El Salvador via its western military stronghold of San Francisco Gotera. The official number of U.S. military advisers in Honduras has been estimated at at least 200, and the luxury hotels of Tegucigalpa have large new contingents of nonuniformed U.S. personnel very visibly in residence. Church workers have brought back reports of an air base under construction in the northwestern zone of the country, contiguous to El Salvador. There have been numerous other reports of Honduran military personnel and U.S. helicopters taking part in joint actions with Salvadoran Government forces.

There has also been a high level of tension on the Nicaraguan border. Somoza's former Guardsmen have made repeated raids from Honduras into Nicaraguan territory, where they have killed more than seventy young soldiers and literacy teachers in the past year. Until now, the Nicaraguan Government has studiously directed its accusations at the exiled counterrevolutionaries. But a new set of raids last month, resulting in seven Nicaraguan deaths, produced reports from Nicaragua that Honduran troops were serving as a rear guard for the Somocista raiders—and perhaps taking part in the action itself. The Honduran Government countered by accusing the Sandinists of "cattle-rustling" in Honduras, and of flying a helicopter into a Honduran village to strafe private homes. The Nicaraguans fear that if the United States wanted to wage a war on their country by proxy, Honduras would be the ideal base.

■ **Although the Reagan Administration has not presented a conclusive position on Nicaragua, the Sandinist Government has been subject to public attack since the publication of the Republican platform last summer. The Administration's freezing of Carter's promised final installment of $75 million in aid last month and its blocking of a $10 million grain sale last week were substantial blows against the fragile Nicaraguan economy. Some Washington hard-liners are boasting that they will succeed in destabilizing the Government within eighteen months.**

■ Although the Administration doubled the number of U.S. military advisers in El Salvador to approximately fifty-five this week, the Pentagon's optimum figure at this point is 270. At the same time, at least three Marine battalions have been called out of reserve and posted on active duty at Guantánamo Naval Base in Cuba, where they are participating in special area "strike force" training.

■ **El Salvador's rightist Maj. Roberto D'Aubuisson, linked last week to shots fired at the U.S. Embassy, has been planning a coup since the Reagan victory in November, counting on the active support of many of Reagan's key advisers. Should such a coup take place, however, D'Aubuisson himself would not likely have been the direct beneficiary. Salvadoran insiders name head of the National Guard Eugenio Vides Casanova, Defense Minister Guillermo García and Communications head Nicolas Carranza, all three of them colonels, as front-runners, in that order; a triumvirate made up of all three is also possible. El Salvador's military hard-liners have close ties to the Pentagon and the National Security Council. More moderate Administration officials and most of the career officers in the State Department cringe at the opposition such a government would arouse domestically and abroad.**

(Central America Watch will appear periodically during the current crisis in that region.)

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ARTICLES.

PROTECTING OUR SPIES

On Naming C.I.A. Agents

We present a Nation *first—the first article in this journal that has ever been cleared for publication by an agency of the Federal Government, in this case the Central Intelligence Agency.*

Because of the misreporting, loose allegations and general fuzziness surrounding the debate over the naming of C.I.A. agents, and the fact that extremely dubious and dangerous legislation—the Intelligence Identities Protection bill, on which hearings begin April 7 in the House—may be enacted as a result, we asked Philip Agee, himself a former C.I.A. agent who has made something of a specialty of naming his quondam colleagues, to explain why he does it, and what he thinks is wrong with the current bill, which would outlaw the practice.

Agee, who resides in Hamburg, West Germany, agreed to write the article but informed us that he is under a court injunction which compels him to clear anything he writes about the intelligence field with the Agency itself, lest he be judged in contempt. Under these circumstances, we agreed to publish Agee's essay (which, as it happens, the C.I.A. let stand pretty much as he wrote it) and invited a group of experts to discuss the issues he raises. Their observations start on page 299, with the exception of former C.I.A. Director William Colby who, after reading the Agee essay, declined to participate. —*The Editors*

PHILIP AGEE

"The purpose of our cover in many places is not to fool the K.G.B.," former Deputy Director of Central Intelligence Frank Carlucci told the Senate Judiciary Committee last September. Rather, cover is needed to preserve C.I.A. operations from "detection by local authorities" and from "foreign political outcry." Carlucci added that good cover is needed to give the U.S. Government "plausible denial" of C.I.A. operations and insure that the Agency can continue to recruit informants. Carlucci was saying, in other words, that good cover is needed to enable the Agency and American ambassadors to tell more believable lies, and to help C.I.A. officers cozy up to foreigners under false pretenses.

The Deputy Director was testifying in favor of S. 2216, the Intelligence Identities Protection bill, which the C.I.A. and many others hope will end six years of embarrassment caused by the publication of the names of agents—primarily in a book that I wrote, and in *Covert Action Information Bulletin.* By October 1980, S. 2216 and an almost identical bill in the House had passed the Intelligence Oversight and Judiciary Committees, and there is every reason to fear that this legislation will become law in the 97th Congress. It will then be a crime for an American to disclose information that identifies the undercover officers, agents, informants and sources of operational assistance of the C.I.A. and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The C.I.A. claims it needs the law because it has become more difficult to recruit spies in foreign countries; many people who might otherwise cooperate fear that their names will be made public. Moreover, foreign intelligence services have become reluctant to collaborate with the C.I.A. because they doubt its present ability to keep a secret. The covers of many C.I.A. officers have been blown, impairing their effectiveness, and the pool of unblown officers who can serve abroad is diminishing. Meanwhile, the security services in many countries and foreign peoples in general have become increasingly aware of, and sensitive to, the C.I.A. presence in American embassies and consulates, thus making operations more difficult to conceal, more cumbersome and, in some cases, more dangerous.

The C.I.A. and its supporters in Congress stress that the proposed law is aimed solely at a malicious little group of troublemakers who specialize in naming names—mainly, myself and Louis Wolf, editor of the *Covert Action Information Bulletin.* The question of whether the bill's narrow intent makes it an unconstitutional bill of attainder aside, it could easily be applied against the mainstream media once the "traitors" are silenced. The long-run result would be an end to practically all extra-official exposures in the media of scandals and abuses based on information from insiders—which is where almost all the important exposures originate. The C.I.A. denies, of course, that this is its purpose, but the potential usefulness of such a law to them in protecting cover and regaining adequate overall secrecy is undeniable. As a result, practically all the mainstream media have come out in opposition to S. 2216.

There can be no doubt that an end to exposure of the C.I.A. in the major media would be a grievous loss. Consider the historical impact of Thomas Ross and David Wise's book *The Invisible Government,* the 1967 revelations of all the financial conduits and institutional penetrations, the 1974 revelations of the Chilean subversion and domestic crimes, the leak of the Pike report in 1976, the 1977 revelations of various chiefs of state on the Agency's payroll and the series the same year on the C.I.A.'s penetrations of the media. That reporting gave unique insights into the C.I.A.'s methods, and without the 1974 revelations there would probably never have been a Rockefeller Commission, a Church committee or a Pike committee.

Under the proposed law, however, most of that main-

Philip Agee is a former C.I.A. officer who wrote Inside the Company: CIA Diary *(Bantam, 1975). He now lives in Hamburg, West Germany. In 1979 the Department of State revoked his passport and the case is currently under consideration in the Supreme Court.*

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stream reporting would have been a crime because the journalists' sources were former employees of the C.I.A. or other government agencies, and the information they provided included the identities of undercover operatives—or could have led to such indentifications. And not only insiders would be subject to criminal prosecution for exposures. Journalists and editors who publish them could in many circumstances also violate the law.

So those of us who name names must ask ourselves whether the harm that will result from chilling mainstream reporting on the C.I.A. is outweighed by the good we have accomplished by weakening the C.I.A. That is, we may assume that the Agency's claims of great harm to its operations are true—that we've had at least a partial success. Our main goal in naming names has always been to weaken the C.I.A. and make it more difficult for the Agency to install and keep in power the Pinochets of the 1980s and 1990s. The loss of reporting by the mainstream media is unfortunate but tolerable—and naming names will go on in any case, with or without the new law.

I wasn't always so certain that naming names was right or necessary. It was not until I came to identify with people around the world who are struggling against injustice and political repression and who are on the receiving end of C.I.A. operations that I realized what I had to do. It was one particular victim's experience that convinced me. Although eight years have passed, I still feel revulsion and anger when I recall my conversation with a Brazilian woman named Angela, whom I met in Paris and had known only a few weeks. Angela, whom I would come to love and admire, was describing the tortures she had suffered after being wounded and captured by the security forces. She also spoke of others, less fortunate, who either didn't survive their ordeal or who were still locked up in stifling cells.

It is one thing to read Amnesty International reports on torture in some faraway country. It is another to hear about it firsthand from a person you know and care for. It is even more unsettling when you yourself have worked more than ten years in the C.I.A., which had much to do with the cruelty and agony you hear described. Angela's words brought back for the thousandth or ten-thousandth time the memory of sitting with my chief of station in the Montevideo police chief's office, hearing the moaning and screams of a torture victim coming through the walls and knowing that it was I who, a few days earlier, had given that man's name to the police for preventive detention.

The bullet that wounded Angela had gone into her lower back and emerged in front, leaving a gaping hole. The police took her straight to the torture chambers of Rio's Villa Militar, allowing medical care only after she fainted from the pain and loss of blood. When she was better, they took her back for more torture sessions, repeating this process over and over, always with the approval of Brazilian military doctors. At one session, her tormentors administered electric shocks until her convulsions ripped open the stomach wound, which had nearly healed. The torturers thrust the electrodes into the open wound. Several times she thought they would continue until they killed her, as they had done with others.

Angela was only 19 at the time. She had moved from the university student movement into active opposition to the military dictatorship. As she told me of the torture, and the years she spent in prison, responding calmly to my questions without a hint of self-pity, I came, almost without realizing it, to a new understanding of what I wanted to accomplish with the book I was writing about the Agency.

The conversation with Angela took place in 1972. I had resigned from the C.I.A. four years before and had spent the last two years working on a book that at that time was unprecedented and almost unthinkable. I wanted to write an insider's account of how the C.I.A. operates in Latin America and how its operations there only intensify the prevailing injustices. During the ten years I lived in various Latin American countries, I came to regard gradualist reform as a delusory hope. Some form of revolutionary socialism seemed to be the only long-range solution for the region's appalling problems. By 1972, I also saw that the C.I.A.'s secret interventions were not abuses subject to reform but part of a systematic support for the structural and economic interests served by the government of the day in Washington. My book, if I could get it finished and published, would be a revolutionary act that would assist socialist movements by revealing the secret methodology used against them.

Yet, until the conversation with Angela about torture, I felt ambivalent about providing the names of C.I.A. officers and local agents. I planned to describe the operations, and even identify certain C.I.A. front organizations. But individuals would be given false names. I could not rid myself of the feeling that there was something indecent about revealing the true identities of former spy-colleagues. In any case, since I was still researching the book, I could put off the decision about using real names until later.

But Angela's story moved me so deeply that for the first time I was able to see the chain of causation in its entirety—from the U.S. President and Congress, and C.I.A. headquarters in Langley, Virginia, down through stations in foreign countries, penetration and manipulation of institutions, support for surrogate security services and ultimately to the victims of the system like Angela. All down the line there were real people involved—people who had real names just as I did. The thought of betraying past confidences and colleagues no longer worried me. The people who did the C.I.A.'s work simply could not be insulated from their deeds and the consequences.

And so I decided: I would use the true names of all the participants in the operations I would describe. My aim, besides showing methodology, would be to neutralize the effectiveness of these individuals by making their C.I.A. ties public. The ultimate purpose would be to impair the C.I.A.'s ability to support political repression and torture, and the anachronistic social and economic systems of Latin America.

I'm sure my emotions determined that decision more than

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any rational arguments. I knew how the C.I.A. had intervened in the early 1960s against the elected Goulart Government in Brazil, helping to produce the 1964 military coup, and how it then worked overtime on strengthening the dictatorship's security services. Those services had tortured and murdered people who worked against the regime. But only after knowing and caring for one of their victims did I feel the passion needed to overcome deeply ingrained compunctions of decency, loyalty and respectability.

Still, old loyalties die hard. Two years later, with the final manuscript about to go to the printer, I wavered and asked my editor whether we shouldn't insert false names for the true ones. In retrospect, I don't understand why I hesitated, for I had followed the horrors of the Chilean coup on television, and knew damned well the Agency was responsible. Yet, in 1974, it was a huge step to reveal all those operations and name all those names. My editor, and Angela too, propped up my resolve, and so *Inside the Company: CIA Diary* went to press with the true names intact.

Defenders of the C.I.A. charge that I started the insidious fashion of naming names, but the exposures that followed *Inside the Company* were fortuitous rather than planned. In November 1974, John Marks published in Washington a description of "the method" for identifying the C.I.A. people listed in the State Department's *Biographic Register* and *Foreign Service List*, both published annually and available in embassies and libraries. Too bad about the Marks article, I thought, because the Agency could at last prevail on the department either to stop publishing or to restrict circulation of the two basic works—which it did. (I was familiar with "the method," of course, but if I had used it to expose someone I would not have revealed the technique.) But for the C.I.A. it was too late.

Journalists all over the world applied "the method" to U.S. embassy personnel lists in their countries and published the names of undercover C.I.A. operatives. In some cases I helped them with the analysis, particularly Louis Wolf, who became the world authority in this field. Wolf, in fact, ordered every issue of the *Biographic Register* and *Foreign Service List* since 1950 from the British Museum's archives, and there, in the State Papers room, he set up a one-man cover-blowing operation that drove the Agency to near distraction for two years.

Then, in 1978, a small group of us founded the *Covert Action Information Bulletin* and continued our work. Our reports were later consolidated in the *Dirty Work* book series, published by Lyle Stuart. Altogether, the names of more than 2,000 C.I.A. people have appeared in these publications—possibly half of the Agency's entire corps of operations officers.

Revelations from other sources during the same 1975-80 period were accumulating in a truly immense body of information on the C.I.A., the F.B.I. and other investigative agencies. Yet despite all the secret crimes and outrages we made public, efforts to legislate reforms of these agencies failed. Ronald Reagan in 1981 can order the C.I.A. to do the same things that Presidents before him could, all the way back to Harry Truman. Now Congress seems bent on further strengthening the C.I.A. and the F.B.I. by making it a crime to name the names of their "covert agents"—even if the identifications were gleaned from unclassified information.

These developments could have been predicted. After all, many people in many countries continue to struggle against an unjust economic order, aligning themselves against the very status quo that the C.I.A. is charged with protecting. American commercial and economic interests really do need a secret political police like the C.I.A. to combat their opponents. The same situation that creates the necessity for naming names and opposing clandestine intervention explains why efforts at reform fail and why Congress seeks to strengthen the Agency.

Freedom of the press is supposedly protected under the legislation because it will apply only to those who exhibit "a pattern of activities intended to identify and expose covert agents . . . with reason to believe that such activities would impair or impede" the C.I.A.'s operations. Yet how many names or articles make a pattern? And who can say of any such exposure that it would not impair or impede? This is, or should be, the main purpose of exposures. If ever a law was precisely written for selective and discriminatory enforcement, this is it.

The C.I.A. and its supporters in Congress understand as well as the rest of us that it is almost impossible to talk or write effectively about *what* the Agency does without saying *who* does it. The Intelligence Identities Protection legislation would make the author of *any* significant exposure liable to criminal prosecution, not just the Philip Agees and the Louis Wolfs. It is impossible to write about the C.I.A.'s operations, even in *The New York Times*, without naming names—of which *The Times* has done its fair share.

What the C.I.A. and its backers really seem to be aiming for, although they deny it, is an Official Secrets Act. The law would, in effect, make nearly every story about clandestine operations illegal because such stories almost always point to the identities of some of the undercover operatives involved. But give the secrecy purveyors their due: by throwing up a smokescreen that "lives are in jeopardy" they have managed to write protection for their operations into the bill, along with protection for their operatives.

Despite the serious blow the Intelligence Identities Protection law will deal to mainstream reporting on the C.I.A., papers like *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and others hardly deserve sympathy. On the contrary. From the moment station chief Richard Welch was killed in Athens in 1975, the "respectable" journals have exploited the killing in a way calculated to distinguish their "legitimate" reporting on the C.I.A. from our "guerrilla" journalism. Time after time they have repeated the lie that it was information revealed by me that caused Welch's death. We were consigned to the "lunatic fringe" who engage in a "ghoulish business" with "funereal expressions." We were "despicable Americans" and "contemptible scoundrels." Just last September, Anthony Lewis of *The Times* chastised "the

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Agees of this world . . . who use what they learn in office to betray their colleagues. . . . The covert action newsletter is in the same dirty business as Agee. . . ." Does that include Deep Throat?

Yet all the while and with unashamed hypocrisy, mainstream journalists never stopped asking me for names of C.I.A. personnel. They called me at any hour of the day or night for leads and advice. John Crewdson of *The Times*, for example, who was working on a major story about the C.I.A. and the media, took name after name from me during a four-hour New York-to-Amsterdam telephone call. For *The Times* to publish those names and others was, of course, "legitimate" reporting, as was *The Washington Post*'s listing, a few months earlier, of the names of some twenty world leaders and chiefs of state rumored to be on the C.I.A.'s payroll. And when the hostages were taken in Iran—you guessed it—the "respectable" media were immediately on the line to the *Bulletin* asking for the names of the C.I.A. people among those captured (the *Bulletin* refused).

The Intelligence Identities Protection law may well have some other interesting consequences. It could halt circulation of already published material in a way that would be tantamount to retroactive censorship and mandatory book-burning. Lyle Stuart could be prosecuted for selling any more copies of the *Dirty Work* books, and retail booksellers might be liable as well. Librarians might have to destroy copies of *Inside the Company*, the *Dirty Work* series and reference copies of the *Bulletin*. Even books by former C.I.A. employees that are favorable to the Agency could be banned, since most of them name undercover officers and local collaborators whose relationship with U.S. intelligence has never been officially acknowledged.

Any one of the eight of us involved in publication of the *Bulletin* who so much as lends a back issue could be prosecuted. The same would apply if any of us were to lend or give away copies of *Inside the Company*, published six years ago, or the *Dirty Work* series. We could be prosecuted if we published, or even circulated privately, a list of people whose C.I.A. connections had been previously revealed in the media. Or we could be prosecuted for circulating old *New York Times* clips containing the names of C.I.A. agents. Still more ridiculous, we could not take public action against F.B.I. or C.I.A. agents whom we catch spying on us.

Those of us who actively oppose covert action and liaison with the repressive security services of foreign governments by American intelligence will not be intimidated by accusations that we are un-American, even traitors. Nor by shrill claims that we put honest American public servants' lives at risk—as if we'd given war plans to an enemy. Nor by claims that we subvert the national security.

The U.S. Congress cannot legislate away opposition to the C.I.A.'s Chile-style interventions. In view of the Reagan Administration's support for the military junta in El Salvador, the reasons for opposing these activities are as compelling now as they ever were. The American people must be aware that the Agency's work in most countries has nothing to do with defending the United States from attack by the Soviet Union. Rather, its operations, especially in the Third World, produce corruption, crime, deception, violence, political repression and support for economic and social injustice.

People should not be fooled by claims that the C.I.A. mainly collects and analyzes information for Presidential decisions. It does that, all right, but much more. It *uses* information all over the world, day in and day out, to support those political forces it considers to be friendly, and to weaken and destroy those chosen as enemies.

Equally, people should not be fooled by claims that the C.I.A. is needed to save the world from "terrorism." In actual fact, the C.I.A. is intimately aligned with some of the worst terror going on today, and many of those described by the C.I.A. and the mainstream media as terrorists are in fact *resisting* oppression and terror, albeit with force.

Those who oppose naming names because it endangers lives ought to weigh the thirty-five C.I.A. line-of-duty deaths over thirty-three years against the tens of thousands who have died as a direct or indirect result of C.I.A. operations. Countless others have passed through the torture chambers of foreign security services supported and trained by the C.I.A. C.I.A. employees are not children engaged in innocent games. They know perfectly well how aggressive and provocative is the Agency as an institution, and they know (or should know) how well deserved is whatever retaliation they get.

In the end, the tactic of naming names derives from an alternative definition of national security. The security of most Americans is not synonymous with the security and profitability of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation's and the Chase Manhattan's foreign operations. These may indeed be served by the C.I.A.'s subversion of elected governments, support for political repression and corruption of other countries' institutions. But some of us have different interests and goals, and we must act to defend them. Naming the C.I.A.'s names is one such action. □

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Comments

Thomas Powers

Philip Agee is an intemperate man. He makes enemies easily, and he has got a lot of them among present and former officials of the Central Intelligence Agency. They take pleasure in Agee's present difficulties—he is the next thing to a stateless man—and would be delighted to see them get a lot worse. This animosity is only partly based on the fact that he names names. What really angers C.I.A. people is Agee's obvious one-sidedness. He only names *our* names. What about the Soviet agents who engineered the murder of Afghanistan's President two years ago, and who are doubtless now drawing up lists of Polish union leaders to be dealt with in the customary manner—interrogation, prison, perhaps a bullet in the back of the neck—in the event of Russian intervention? Why doesn't Agee publish any of *their* names?

Agee is right. The Senate's Intelligence Identities Protection bill is aimed principally at him. He is also right when he says this is a bad law—a first step on the road to an Official Secrets Act. A lot of similar steps have been proposed in recent years, but so far we have declined to take any of them. The danger now is that Agee makes an ideal villain—he all but insists on the role—and Congress may pass this law in what amounts to a fit of pique.

Before it does so Congress ought to ask three questions. First, just whose identities are being protected? An agent is someone recruited by the C.I.A. for some local purpose, not a regularly employed officer of the Agency with a GS rating, fringe benefits and pension rights. The former have rarely been exposed by Agee or anyone else. Most of the latter spend at least some time abroad under some sort of cover—usually official cover which may disguise their true employer from the next guy on the airplane, but certainly does not hide it from rival intelligence services. Are the identities of such "covert agents" to be protected forever? As a practical matter this would enshroud the personal histories of most high officials of the Agency.

Thomas Powers is the author of The Man Who Kept the Secrets: Richard Helms and the CIA *(Knopf).*

Second, will this law actually solve an important problem? I don't know what the intelligence services have been telling Congress; I suspect it has been mournful in tone, but lacking in detail. I hope Congress will be skeptical, and insist on chapter and verse whenever the C.I.A. laments that its hands have been tied and its operations hamstrung by radical journalists and sullen former employees spilling the beans. The beans spilled have mostly concerned Agency history, which is a legitimate subject of public inquiry. It's our history too, after all.

Third, does Congress really want this law to work? The C.I.A.'s history ought to have cautioned us against relying on it indiscriminately to plug all the holes in the dike. Truly ironclad secrecy—enforced by law rather than conscience—will only encourage Presidents to resort to secret means when they are under pressure to *do* something. Does Congress really believe the C.I.A. could have saved the Shah, pushed the Russians out of Angola and Ethiopia, defeated the Sandinists in Nicaragua? If it does, and if it passes this law, then we are in for an unpleasant rerun of recent history. □

Frances FitzGerald

Philip Agee's defense of his own actions in "naming names" reminds me of a Charles Bronson film called *Death Wish* in which the Bronson character, an architect, undertakes a one-man crusade against all the muggers in New York City. The architect's wife and daughter have been brutally murdered (on screen) by anonymous burglars in their apartment. When the police cannot find the killers, the architect, in a passionate desire for revenge, goes out every night and shoots down muggers (the city is apparently peopled by them), who have, as far as anyone knows, nothing to do with the murder of his wife and daughter. Because the film takes the architect's point of view that the police are inefficient, bureaucratic, legalistic and possibly corrupt, and because it paints the architect as a normally humane and rational man, it implicitly justifies the architect's killings and explicitly allows him to get away scot-free—as a folk hero in the city. The vigilante tradition is an old one in the United States, and the film did well at the box office.

The difference between Agee's argument and that of *Death Wish* is that Agee believes the C.I.A. agents are only the tools of the President, Congress and "American commercial and economic interests." If the Bronson character had believed that the police controlled the muggers (and the killers of his wife and daughter), he would have had the patience to try to reform the city—or the courage to shoot the chief of police.

Agee's defense of his own actions also reminds me of President Reagan's recent statement that the Russians lie, cheat and steal, and Secretary Haig's recent warnings about international terrorism controlled by Moscow. Mr. Reagan and Mr. Haig apparently believe that the Russians are so wicked that they cannot be negotiated with, and that the United States would be fully justified in abandoning the usual constraints of its foreign policy to retaliate against their wickedness. This kind of vengefulness also seems to be a rather popular sentiment at the moment.

What these arguments have in common is that they are not attempts to describe the world but attempts to justify violent actions already undertaken or contemplated. (Agee's naming names has not, as far as we know, led to the death of a C.I.A. officer, but Agee clearly believes that it might and is willing to take moral responsibility for such a consequence.) In all cases these violent actions are clearly irrational. Not only will they not serve their immediate purposes but they are very likely to lead to retaliation from the other side and an escalating spiral of conflict. Both Haig and Agee seem to understand that this might be the consequence of their actions. Agee will not be surprised if the Congress passes an Intelligence Identities Protection Act and the Federal Bureau of Investigation agents appear at the offices of the *Covert Action Information Bulletin* any more than Haig will be surprised if we "have to" send Marines into El Salvador, or some other country.

As a mainstream journalist, I do not wish to be put in jail because of Philip Agee any more than the potential draftees I know want to be killed in El Salvador because of Alexander Haig. □

Frances FitzGerald, a member of The Nation*'s Editorial Board, is author of* Fire in the Lake *and* America Revised.

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Aryeh Neier

Philip Agee's argument against the Intelligence Identities Protection bill is thoroughly persuasive. His attempt to justify his own crusade to name names, however, seems to me less than fully convincing.

In essence, Agee justifies his systematic revelations of the names of Central Intelligence agents on the ground that the C.I.A. does bad things. Thanks in part to revelations by several other former agents, what he has to tell us about the evil that the Agency does is not new. That it is familiar, of course, should not diminish its capacity to inspire revulsion. If Agee limited himself to exposing those responsible for the horrors committed by the C.I.A., I could heartily endorse what he is doing. To the best of my knowledge, however, Agee is not selective. An agent of the C.I.A. monitoring the K.G.B. (which commits acts quite as bad as anything the C.I.A. has done), or reporting on labor camps in China, or reporting on conditions in Kampuchea, or reporting on the Iraq-Iran war is as much a target for his exposés as an agent working with a brutal police department.

True, it can be fairly argued that anyone working for the C.I.A. is responsible for the acts of the entire Agency. A defense based on ignorance could not stand up after all the exposés of the last decade. But this argument suggests that it is illegitimate for the United States to maintain an intelligence-gathering agency like the C.I.A. Because I think that there are other sources of evil in the world today besides the United States, and because I believe that American foreign policy should be guided by knowledge of that evil, I consider the existence of an American espionage agency to be legitimate. This leads me to favor selective, rather than systematic, exposure of C.I.A. activities and agents.

I cannot imagine how to draft legislation that distinguishes between selective and systematic exposés, or that permits the exposés I favor while forbidding the exposés Agee favors. The First Amendment certainly does not distinguish between such revelations; as I read it, it flatly forbids interference with revelations of any activities of government, including the identities of those acting for the government. Accordingly, I oppose any legislation punishing publication of C.I.A. secrets even though I think the Agency has a right to try to keep some secrets and even though I would not disclose all its secrets. □

Aryeh Neier, a member of The Nation*'s Editorial Board, is adjunct professor of law at New York University and director of the New York Institute for the Humanities.*

Thomas I. Emerson

The proposed Intelligence Identities Protection bill aptly demonstrates the basic incompatibility of the Central Intelligence Agency's covert operations with a democratic society. The C.I.A. claims that the legislation is necessary for it to function effectively. But it would be impossible to draft a bill that would not violate the constitutional right to freedom of speech and of the press embodied in the First Amendment, and the current one is no exception.

In essence, the Intelligence Identities Protection bill establishes a criminal penalty for the dissemination of any information that identifies an individual as an undercover agent or informant of an intelligence agency. The prohibition applies not only to a government employee or former employee, or to a person who has entered into a trust relationship with the government, but to *any* person, whether he has had any connection with the government or not. The bill prohibits not only the dissemination of classified information but also information that is not classified, information readily available from nongovernmental sources and information already in the public domain. And it extends not only to information that reveals the name of an undercover agent or informer. It covers any information that might tend to identify such a person in any way.

It is true that the bill contains limitations which somewhat restrict its coverage, but they are, by and large, illusory. Plainly the bill would impose substantial and sweeping controls upon discussion of the operations of the intelligence agencies in the United States and abroad.

Thus, journalists, editors and all members of the media would be subject to heavy criminal penalties for reporting any information about the "foreign intelligence" activities of the C.I.A., the Department of Defense, or the Federal Bureau of Investigation that might lead anyone to identify a particular individual. This would be true even if the individual in question had been guilty of the most heinous crimes. Scholars, research institutions and other centers of learning would be subject to the same restraints. Ordinary citizens could not even engage in conversation where names were mentioned or identifying facts disclosed. A political organization infiltrated by undercover agents or informers could not discuss the problem, publicly or privately.

Moreover, even where the statute did not strictly apply, no one would know how far it would be extended, when a prosecution might be brought, or what a jury might decide. When one cannot say anything that might conceivably lead to the identification of a government official, the right of citizens to investigate what their government is doing, to criticize its actions and to seek democratic change becomes virtually impossible to exercise.

Most important of all, the restrictions in the bill apply to information that is unclassified, available to all and already in the public domain. Since a criminal penalty follows each dissemination of a particular piece of information, the provisions of the bill constitute a classic example of an Official Secrets Act.

Under these circumstances it is plain that the proposed legislation violates both the letter and the spirit of the First Amendment. Free and open discussion of public issues lies at the heart of that constitutional guarantee. The fact that such discussion may "impair or impede" the operations of government is no justification for imposing restrictions upon the right of expression. The government may protect itself by imposing criminal sanctions upon those who obstruct or interfere with its functioning by violence or coercion. It can seek to safeguard legitimate government secrets by controlling its own officials, employees and agents. But it cannot forbid, curtail or interfere with the discussion of government affairs by private citizens.

Once our nation accepts the proposition that the First Amendment can be overridden by the routine demands of national security there is no end in sight. The whole system of freedom of expression would be endangered. □

Thomas I. Emerson is Lines Professor of Law Emeritus at Yale University.

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Frank Donner

The proposed "naming names" legislation which is the subject of Philip Agee's article makes it a crime for anyone to disclose the identities of "covert agents" to persons not authorized to receive classified information. This stricture applies even when the information is publicly available. Originally confined to the Central Intelligence Agency, the bill was expanded to include domestic Federal Bureau of Investigation counterintelligence agents as well. Ostensibly to narrow the scope of the legislation and to meet First Amendment objections, the Senate bill requires "a pattern of activities" while the House's version requires proof of "an intent to impair or impede the intelligence activities of the United States."

In the opinion of many constitutional law experts these limitations do not cure the infirmities of this measure, which, for the first time in our history, attempts to make criminal the publication of information already in the public domain. Constitutional scholar Prof. Philip Kurland has denounced the Senate bill as "the clearest violation of the First Amendment attempted by Congress in this era." And Floyd Abrams, perhaps our most distinguished practicing lawyer in the field of the First Amendment, told the House Select Committee on Intelligence that both House and Senate versions could not survive constitutional scrutiny, that the "intent" language of the House bill, far from curing its infirmities, compounded them and that, indeed, "there is no legal way to phrase the ban without violating the First Amendment." Abrams also attacked as unconstitutionally vague a section of the legislation (directed at Philip Agee) penalizing the disclosure by present or former agents of "information that identifies" intelligence personnel. The constitutional objections of Kurland and Abrams were echoed by more than sixty law professors who urged the scrapping of the legislation as recommended earlier by a House Judiciary subcommittee.

The excessive breadth of the proposed law is shown by its coverage: undercover employees, informers and "sources of operational assistance." Ironically, the common-law informer's privilege which proponents of the bill have invoked to protect intelligence sources from a supposed threat of reprisal has been repeatedly subordinated by the courts to more important public interests.

I think that the legislation is also vulnerable as a bill of attainder, that is, a legislative judgment of guilt without trial banned by our Constitution. Certainly, it cannot be doubted that the *purpose* of the legislation is to punish Louis Wolf, William Schaap and Ellen Ray, editors of the *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, along with Philip Agee, their adviser. The legislative history teems with expressions of this purpose. The chief sponsor of the Senate bill, Senator John Chafee, spoke for the supporters of the legislation in both houses when, referring to Louis Wolf, he said, "I want to put him away." Plainly, as in all attainders, Congress is seeking to hand down a judgment punishing Wolf and his colleagues. There is nothing for a court or jury to adjudicate beyond confirming the already pronounced judgment of guilt. Reading the records of the unfolding of this legislation and its litany of angry charges of treason and betrayal, I was once again reminded that, classically, attainders have recurred in periods of intolerance and hysteria in response to subversion-related charges. The fate of this legislative monstrosity may well portend whether, in the days to come, Congressional passions will once again engulf the Bill of Rights. With the fading of the traumas of Vietnam, Watergate and the C.I.A. covert-action scandals, is a strengthened right preparing to launch a new cycle of repression? □

Frank Donner is director of the American Civil Liberties Union research project on political surveillance and author of a recent book on the subject, The Age of Surveillance *(Knopf).*

Jean Bethke Elshtain

Philip Agee's piece is both troubling and compelling. I am, however, puzzled by his contention that the "serious blow the Intelligence Identities Protection law will deal to mainstream reporting . . . hardly deserves sympathy" when a good bit of his piece aims to alert us to precisely that loss, to the clear and present dangers the legislation represents for the mainstream media as well as for bold "name namers" like Agee. The mainstream media, including *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, a I.F. Stone and *The Nation*, among others, have shown by the contrast of their own examples over the years, are more likely to behave cravenly and obsequiously than courageously and autonomously when confronted with the "powers that be." Yet there are individual reporters and columnists here and there, and papers now and then, who rise to the occasion and strike a blow that gives substantive content to that hallowed imperative, freedom of the press.

Anything, whether a repressive piece of legislation or bullying tactics by advertisers and government, that makes it more difficult for the media, however imperfectly and haphazardly, to serve a watchdog function and to fight authoritarian control is to be deplored. The particular legislation Agee dissects and warns us about will be damaging in precisely the specific and general ways he foresees. It will further erode the ideal of uncoerced communication and debate that is the true heart and surest safeguard of democracy. Public discourse is distorted by, among other things, the excessive powers of central government and the self-serving actions of big business. The Intelligence Identities Protection law would add to the reactive noise that now substitutes for authentic public debate. This, and Agee's deeply felt condemnation of C.I.A. collusion in torture and terror, is the compelling aspect of his essay.

What troubles me is Agee's tendency, at times, to lapse into the sorts of utilitarian calculations employed—in cruder and crueler form, to be sure—by C.I.A. operatives. This is especially clear when Agee asks the reader to "weigh the thirty-five C.I.A. line-of-

Jean Bethke Elshtain is associate professor of political science at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

PUBLIC MEETING

Fred Halliday
speaking on
SOVIET POLICY &
THE THIRD WORLD

Tuesday, March 10th—7:30 pm

Riverside Church
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duty deaths over thirty-three years against the tens of thousands. . . ." Opponents of the C.I.A. must resolutely reject an ethic that specializes in body counts. To buy into that ethic in order to make one's own case is to erode the essential moral core and passion of that case, a categorical imperative that must be linked at each point to an ethic that refuses to engage in calculations concerning human lives. □

Edward Jay Epstein

The naming names game is a curious episode in the intelligence relations between the K.G.B. and the Central Intelligence Agency. It did not begin with Philip Agee. It began in the mid-1960s with a K.G.B. book published in East Germany called *Who's Who in the C.I.A.* The book alleged that hundreds of American diplomats were C.I.A. officers, and boldly attempted to collect new data by including a tear-out postcard on which readers were asked to send the names of any C.I.A. officers they knew to East German intelligence.

The C.I.A. responded belatedly in 1973 by releasing to John Barron of *Reader's Digest* a computer printout of Soviet diplomats who were putatively intelligence agents. Barron included this C.I.A. printout as Appendix D in his book on the K.G.B., *The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents* (Reader's Digest Press, 1974). This rather comprehensive C.I.A. compendium was followed by Agee's book. A number of counterintelligence officers in the C.I.A. did not assume that the publication of Agee's list was a pure coincidence. Since it included the names of many officers in Europe with whom Agee himself was not acquainted, they assumed that he, like John Barron, had some help with the preparation of his list.

The real reason why the C.I.A., the K.G.B., or any independent operator would publish such lists is not immediately clear. The names of intelligence officers serving under diplomatic cover are generally known to both the C.I.A. and the K.G.B. Indeed, they usually seek one another out at diplomatic receptions for the purposes of recruitment or gossip. Their names are also generally known to the host governments who place these officers under some sort of surveillance, or use them as back channels to Washington or Moscow. In fact, they are called by both sides "legals" in the sense that they have the recognized right to gather political intelligence within the ground rules laid down by the host government. The publication of their names, therefore, does not interfere with their intelligence function (truly secret operatives working under deep cover could not be detected in the State Department's *Biographic Register* or *Foreign Service List*). Nor does it really hinder truly covert operations.

Naming names thus seems to be nothing more than a game of petty harassment of individual intelligence officers serving as diplomats. It hardly seems a worthwhile purpose of journalism to engage in the game of naming names merely for the sake of naming names. Similarly, I would not consider it a purpose of higher journalism to publish the unlisted telephone numbers of movie stars and celebrities under the pretext of making the arts more responsive to public taste.

On the other hand, the problem of the revelation or leak of C.I.A. secrets cannot be resolved by a law restricting journalists from publishing them. Such leaks are symptoms of poor internal security controls and quality controls over personnel. (What was Agee doing in the C.I.A. in the first place?) Rather than impose the burden of these problems on the media through legislation, the C.I.A. should put its own house in order. □

Edward Jay Epstein is the author of Legend: The Secret World of Lee Harvey Oswald *(McGraw-Hill) and is currently writing a book on international deception.*

POLITICAL THIRD FORCE

Rural India in Revolt Against The Cities

KAI BIRD

New Delhi

For nearly forty years rural India has slumbered under the political dominance of the urban-centered Congress Party of Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi. But rural India is awakening. Gradually, over the last four years, a strong peasant movement has emerged which may well challenge Congress's hegemony in the countryside and create a new political consensus.

There have always been two nations in the Indian subcontinent: urban India, where all political and economic power resides, and rural India, a forgotten land where invisible millions toil to produce enough food to feed themselves and the cities. The vast majority of the 560 million people in rural India make a bare subsistence living in a feudal agricultural system that is marked by absentee landlords, extortionate sharecropping and bonded labor.

Urban India is an immensely wealthy nation. Its cities harbor both the ostentatious rich—like Indira Gandhi's personal guru, Swami Dhirendra Brahmachari, who owns an American-manufactured Maule M-5 private airplane, two sleek Mercedes-Benz 300D limousines and a chain of air-conditioned yoga centers—and a large middle class with an insatiable hunger for all the consumer goods a modern industrial economy can offer. Urban India's industrial plant is quite capable of producing almost anything, from household appliances to nuclear energy plants.

Given this extreme imbalance of wealth in favor of the industrial cities, India's political elite has always sought to conceal its urban-biased policies from the countryside. More than a decade ago, shortly before Mrs. Gandhi unleashed her "socialist" campaign with such radical and

Kai Bird, associate editor of The Nation, *recently visited South Asia. He is currently in London working for several months with the* New Statesman.

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ultimately empty slogans as "*Garibi Hatao*" (Abolish Poverty), she told an interviewer: "We spoke of socialism because that was what went down well with the masses." Dilip Hiro, in his book *Inside India Today* (Monthly Review Press), writes that the Congress Party's basic dilemma is "how to continue to pose as the party of the poor to win the popular vote while pursuing policies that primarily benefit the upper-middle and upper classes."

The charade that was Indian socialism went almost unchallenged until the mid-1970s when a combination of food shortages and strikes in the cities led Mrs. Gandhi to declare a State Emergency. Since then, despite her electoral defeat in 1977 and comeback in January 1980, the political consensus has been rapidly unraveling. It is as if the Emergency period had torn away all pretenses that urban and rural India were one and the same nation.

As a result, a broad left rural coalition has formed, made up of marginal farmers, sharecroppers and landless workers who constitute a majority of India's population. These groups are demanding an end to the heavy favoritism for the cities. They charge the current Congress Party Government with a host of inequities. Among them:

§ Agriculture receives only 27 percent of the national development budget.

§ Nearly 20 percent of the central Government's expenditures go to a bloated military establishment.

§ Only 11 percent of the country's bank loans are allocated for agricultural purposes.

§ India's wholesale food distribution system is riddled with arcane restrictions on the transport of food goods which encourage profiteering and rice smuggling. For example, fish priced at two rupees per kilo in the state of Gujarat is sold by traders on the Calcutta market at 25 rupees.

In the countryside farmers are in revolt, and their main goal is higher prices. Across the nation they have formed grass-roots organizations unaffiliated with any of the political parties, and in state after state they are forcing the authorities to grant dramatic increases in the prices of agricultural products. The tactics employed elicit broad support not only from the richer farmers who would be the immediate beneficiaries of raised prices but also the poor, landless agricultural day laborers who can ill afford to pay more for food. The farmers have organized strikes in which they refuse to sell their produce. These boycotts are enforced by thousands of peasants who converge on isolated railroad junctions and sit down on the tracks to block the movement of freight trains carrying food for the cities.

The most prominent spokesman to emerge from the current rash of peasant protests is Sharad Joshi, a former United Nations official who owns a twenty-acre farm in the state of Maharashtra. His slogans, "*Chakra Rokho*" (Stop the Wheels) and "*Rasta Banda*" (Block the Roads) are the bywords of a highly effective civil disobedience campaign in the countryside. Joshi inaugurated the farmers' 1980 demonstrations with demands for higher support prices for onions and sugar cane, both cash crops grown by entrepreneurial farmers. The Maharashtra state government, which is controlled by supporters of Indira Gandhi, capitulated to these demands. As a result, sugar prices for urban consumers have soared, and the price of onions has more than doubled.

Joshi and other leaders of the rural movement retain the support of both middle-class farmers and the poorest agricultural day laborers by appealing to their rural chauvinism. Joshi calls his populist movement "*Bharat*" (the Hindi word for India) which conjures up a romanticized image of a rural Hindu nation in revolt against the urbanized "India." "Today Pune, Bombay and Calcutta are the London and Manchester," Joshi says. "I do not believe in sophisticated terms like 'class struggle.' But I call this the struggle between *Bharat* and India. There is no reason why [the farmer] should not benefit from rising prices. On the contrary, the situation today is, when there is a shortage, levy; and when there is plenty, auction. In both ways, the farmer loses. He sells his produce cheaply, often below cost price, and buys his needs at fancy high prices."

All classes of peasants should unite, he says, against the anglicized India, with its industrial havens producing private automobiles, electrical appliances and ready-made synthetic clothing for the country's urban "brown sahibs." Such appeals strike a responsive chord in village India, which draws little benefit from the industrial production of urban India. (T. A. Pai, Mrs. Gandhi's Minister of Industries in 1975, once told the *Far Eastern Economic Review*'s South Asia correspondent, Lawrence Lifschultz: "The market for industrial goods, apart from textiles, hardly exceeds 50 million to 60 million people, or barely 10 percent of the population.")

These peasant agitations began four years ago in the waning days of the Emergency. The timing may have been significant since it was during the Emergency that Mrs. Gandhi's economic policies tilted so decisively in favor of India's large and heavily subsidized industries. Initially, the agitation was centered in the southern state of Tamil Nadu, led by Narain Swami Naidu, but it soon spread. Like many other local leaders of the movement, Naidu belongs to a small class of Indian farmers—only 5 percent of the total—who actually market their produce. Naidu himself does not farm (he hires day laborers), but he is representative of the agricultural entrepreneurial class, many of them village moneylenders and grain traders who, since the mid-1960s, have been the main beneficiaries of the so-called Green Revolution. Their investments in the new high-yield seeds, irrigation equipment and tractors have enabled them to increase their harvests substantially and produce a surplus for market.

But many basic products and much of the rice, wheat, sugar cane and seed oils are not sold on the open market. The Government procures these commodities and then sells them in the cities through an elaborate system of subsidized "fair price shops." The price paid to the farmer is set by an Agricultural Price Commission in New Delhi. According to the commission's latest figures, prices for agricultural products have fallen from a base index of 100.7 in 1974-75 to

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83.5 in mid-1980. During this same period prices of manufactured goods continued to climb. The result, says Pradip Bose, a well-known journalist writing in *Seminar*, a New Delhi journal, is that "vast numbers of the peasantry and agricultural laborers . . . have been squeezed between the rise in prices of agricultural commodities and the nonagricultural necessities of life."

City dwellers naturally have a strong interest in cheap food and, indeed, India's advanced industrial sector inevitably grew at the expense of the peasantry. But it wasn't only the private conglomerates owned by the great industrial families like the Birlas and the Tatas that benefited from cheap-food policies. The Government-owned industries profited as well. Thus, the Indian left, which sought to organize the burgeoning working class in the cities, also had a stake in cheap food. During Mrs. Gandhi's first tenure in office, Dr. Ashok Mitra, currently the Financial Minister in the Communist Party, Marxist (C.P.M.) government in West Bengal, chaired the Agricultural Price Commission.

Today, confronted by a newly resurgent peasantry, Indian leftists find themselves in a quandary. The left has never had a strong organization in the countryside; both of the two major Communist parties, the Communist Party of India (C.P.I.) and the C.P.M., find their natural constituencies among the factory workers living in the shantytowns of Bombay and Calcutta. The C.P.M., which broke with the C.P.I. in 1964, won a string of electoral victories in West Bengal, and now controls the state government. But aside from Kerala, where an unusually high literacy rate and the prevailing plantation system of agriculture have created a large landless proletariat to which the left has been able to appeal, not even the C.P.M. has been able to make inroads into the less industrialized states. The farmers' movement is thus seen by many leftists as an opportunity to broaden their constituency in the populous countryside. Recently, an informal coalition of social democratic and left parties comprising the C.P.M., the C.P.I., the Peasants and Workers Party and the Congress faction, formed the Left and Democratic Front, which will seek to capitalize on agrarian discontent.

"We are well aware of how weak the left is in the countryside," says Mohit Sen, a central executive committee member of the Communist Party of India. "Land reform as a slogan, at least for the moment, would divide the peasantry. But we can win the support of the landless by demanding the extension of fair-price shops into the countryside. And we can win the support of small farmers by demanding that the Government provide them greater access to credit and higher support prices."

Mrs. Gandhi's Congress Party is also trying to make inroads into this new rural constituency. She has made it clear, though, that she can go only so far in granting the farmers' demands for higher prices. In a speech at a recent rally of farmers, who had been trucked in from the country to demonstrate support for the Congress Party, she criticized some of their demands as excessive and reiterated old party promises to reduce the cost of fertilizers, seed and equipment. Since such policies would benefit only the Green Revolution farmers, she was reaching out to the Congress's traditional political allies in the countryside—the large and middle-level landowners who have had the capital to mechanize their farms.

The Congress Party, first under Jawaharlal Nehru and today under Indira Gandhi, has always catered to the wealthiest and most powerful agricultural interests in return for their support. The cotton lobby is one of them. During the last decade, the Cotton Corporation of India, a public concern, bought cotton from politically influential landlords at double the minimum support price set by the Agricultural Price Commission. Writing in the weekly magazine *India Today*, Ashok Mitra explains: "This is possible because of the influence wielded by the powerful cotton lobby. In sharp contrast, jute growers with small holdings have been forced to sell this year's crop at prices which are 50 percent below the minimum support price for jute. In such a situation, who can blame the farmers if they organize themselves and demand remunerative prices?"

And so the farmers who have been passed over and forgotten by the Congress Party are now waking up. All this agrarian ferment could culminate within the next few years in a new political alignment, united behind demands for policies that are responsive to rural needs. The upshot could be the emergence of a political party that is capable of challenging the Congress Party's longstanding ascendancy. How far to the left such a political realignment might swing is uncertain. Mrs. Gandhi—or her successors—could always choose to impose another Emergency if confronted by a serious electoral contender campaigning for "peasant power."

But if the current agitation at least succeeds in increasing the prices middle-class farmers receive, it will create a ripple effect, raising the hopes of even the poorest farm laborers. Such expectations, once raised, could eventually lead to the formation of an organized political constituency in the countryside, one that would make it very costly for the country's political elite to continue to favor urban India. □

BACKGROUND TO REPRESSION

Guatemala's Indian Wars

Last month, Amnesty International issued a report on Guatemala containing eyewitness evidence that the Government of Gen. Fernando Romeo Lucas Garcia has engaged in a deliberate policy of torture and repression of its opposition. The Government has repeatedly denied that a single political arrest has ever been made, but, in a rationalization familiar to those who follow events in El Salvador, it claims that the murders, "disappearances" and torture that have taken place are the work of right-wing "death squads."

—The Editors

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CLIFFORD KRAUSS

Guatemala City

Under the cover of predawn darkness last July 28, a Guerrilla Army of the Poor (E.G.P.) commando team raided an army outpost on a bluff overlooking the Ixil Indian town of San Juan Cotzal. The integrated Ladino and Indian force surprised the soldiers and killed several before retreating into the Guatemalan highlands. After the army's *orejas* (ears) in the village told the commander of the outpost that certain civilians knew of the impending raid but had refused to warn the soldiers, flak-jacketed troops, many of them Indians, forced open the doors of dozens of homes, rounded up about sixty young males, executed them and buried them in common graves.

Leftist rebellion and rightist reaction are nothing new to Guatemala. Since Col. Jácobo Arbenz and his left-leaning regime fell to a Central Intelligence Agency-financed coup in 1954, more than 35,000 Guatemalans have died in political violence. Guerrilla groups have come and gone—victims of army counterinsurgency as well as their own ideological bickering and strategic blunders. Rightist death squads have changed their names a half-dozen times.

Nor is repression and exploitation of the Indian majority a recent development. As soon as the Spanish swept through Guatemala in 1524, thousands of Mayas were mobilized as unpaid labor to produce cocoa, indigo, leather, gold and silver. Today the goods are different but the system largely remains: A half-million Indians are forced into what amounts to debt peonage every year and compelled to migrate hundreds of miles to toil at substandard wages on southern coastal plantations.

What is new to Guatemala is the burgeoning activism of thousands of Indians within the last year. That's bad news for the Ladino elite, and the rightist regime that serves their interests has stepped up repression. Thirty Quiché peasants and students occupied the Spanish Embassy in Guatemala City in January 1980, taking thirty-one hostages. They demanded an investigation into the alleged army killing of dozens of farmers around the town of Uspantan in Quiché. When police climbed onto the embassy roof and attempted to break in, a militant threw a Molotov cocktail. The entire building exploded in flames and twenty-nine militants, seven Spanish diplomats, a former Guatemalan Vice President, a foreign minister who had taken sanctuary in the embassy and a Guatemalan secretary were killed.

A less dramatic though potentially more important development soon followed. Exploiting widespread discontent over low wages, crowded housing, DDT poisoning and tropical disease among workers at the southern coastal plantations, the Guerrilla Army of the Poor had organized 75,000 Indian migrants through its labor wing, the Peasant Unity Committee (C.U.C.). Last February, the workers struck for seventeen days and won their first raise since 1972—a 186 percent hike that brought their minimum daily wage to $3.20. One hundred peasants suspected of taking part in the work action disappeared in June, presumably the victims of the death squads. Despite the loss of life, the C.U.C. strike was considered the most successful union action in years. The Government took notice and began broadcasting patriotic announcements in Indian languages defending the army and extolling the virtues of peace.

The strategy of the E.G.P. and the Revolutionary Organization of the People in Arms (O.R.P.A.), two of four guerrilla groups operating in Guatemala, has been to take power by exploiting Indian discontent. Active in Quiché since 1975, the E.G.P. has had growing success in recruiting Indians into its ranks by promising land reform and attacking the army's forced recruitment program. There is increasing evidence that Indian civilians in many towns are clandestinely helping the guerrillas by feeding and sheltering them. Over the past several months, O.R.P.A. has gained a foothold along a wide swath of mountain terrain in the western and central parts of the country by holding town meetings in local Indian tongues.

In war or peace, the plight of the Guatemalan Indians is bleak. Illiteracy in the countryside reaches 80 percent. Indian infant mortality exceeds 100 per 1,000 live births. Hunger, underemployment, mental retardation and alcoholism are endemic. To escape the misery of the fields, thousands of Indians reject their ancestral dress and migrate to the cities where they live in ragtag slums without running water.

The struggle for existence becomes acute in November throughout the highlands. In Santa Catarina Palopo, a town squeezed between steep mountains and the banks of moody Lake Atitlan, 1,500 Cakchiquel Indians barely eke out a subsistence ten months a year. When the rainy season ends in October, leaving the smell of rotting corn behind, families begin to run out of food and money. Out of desperation, about 400 Santa Catarina Palopo men join hundreds of thousands of their countrymen and migrate to cotton, coffee and sugar plantations on the sweltering southern coast. "My family doesn't have enough land," complained Manuel Gonzalez, a 28-year-old migrant of the town who clings to his Cakchiquel tongue and wears traditional striped culottes. Gonzalez must share an acre of exhausted soil with three generations of his family. "There is much pain on the coast and it is very hot. Sometimes it makes me mad but I have no choice but to go," Gonzalez added. Gonzalez hires out to contractors who offer him loans of between $5 and $15 to feed his family in exchange for a month or two of work on the plantations. His advance is taken out of his daily salary; when he returns to his farm in February he is often penniless or still in debt.

Small farmers have little choice but to go to the contractors: they do not qualify for Government credits and their land is too meager to support their families. A 3.3 percent annual population growth rate in the countryside has forced families to divide among themselves what little land they have. The overpopulation has driven peasants to climb Guatemala's steep mountains and volcanoes in search of arable land. Some of the high-altitude farmers suspend

Clifford Krauss is a roving foreign correspondent who specializes in Central American affairs.

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themselves from ropes to cultivate their precarious plots. The resulting deforestation of the mountains has caused severe erosion and floods that sweep down the mountainsides and carry away topsoil from the farms below.

One Government rural credit spokeswoman explained with a shrug that public efforts to aid the Indians had little impact because of "the low cultural level of the indigenous population." A more systematic analysis would demonstrate that Government policy is directly responsible for the forced migrations. After all, cheap Indian labor gives Guatemalan produce a competitive edge on the world market. "The politicians believe that if the Indians do better they will not work on the plantations. That is the sad truth," said a Government official responsible for Indian affairs. A list of the country's most powerful politicians and generals would duplicate a *Who's Who* of the Guatemalan landowning class. Jorge García Granados, private secretary and business partner of President Lucas García, is the second largest cotton planter in the country. Lucas García himself is a cattle rancher who owns at least 25,000 acres in the Transversal Strip region, where valuable oil deposits have been found. Over the last twenty years of strong economic growth, low business taxes and conservative monetary policies have succeeded in keeping inflation—and the Indian—down.

President Lucas García characterizes his Government as "center-left" and spends thousands of quetzales publicizing a $19 million program funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development to settle 5,000 landless families in the Transversal Strip and the projects of Bandesa, the public rural credit bank. But the Government's own statistics belie the promises officials have made in an attempt to avert a Sandinist-style revolution. Two percent of Guatemala's 7.2 million people own 70 percent of the nation's cultivable land. Some 200,000 peasant families own no land at all. Meanwhile, a few large landholders, who let as much as 30 percent of their land go unused, increased their acreage from 5.5 million to 6.7 million between 1964 and 1979.

Their right to let huge tracts of land lie fallow for decades while millions starve has a legal precedent. In 1954, the far-right National Liberation Movement (M.L.N.) forces of Col. Carlos Castillo Armas overthrew Colonel Arbenz. Arbenz had been branded a Communist by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles when his program to distribute some unused land to peasants touched holdings of the United Fruit Company. After his takeover, Castillo Armas returned the "stolen" land, and then some, to the U.S. company and other landowners. Peasant leagues that supported Arbenz were crushed. The absolute inviolability of property rights remains a basic tenet of Government land policy to this day.

One of the worst massacres took place on the morning of May 29, 1978, when 700 Kekchi Indians gathered in the town square of Panzos, a village eighty miles northeast of Guatemala City, to give the mayor a petition demanding the return of lands taken from them by rich Ladinos. They were met by a large army detachment with automatic weapons at the ready. An Indian leader began shouting and swinging his machete at the soldiers, as if to beckon the unarmed peasants to attack them. The soldiers lost control of the situation and finally cleared the square in a frenzy of gunfire—leaving 114 men, women and children dead. E.G.P. guerrillas were quick to take revenge and blew up an army truck, killing seventeen soldiers.

The massacre, called "Guatemala's My Lai" by one local newspaper, climaxed two years of "disappearances" and evictions in the isolated northern province of Alta Verapaz. For centuries the indigenous Kekchi Indians lived there peacefully in communes, because the Ladinos had little use for property in an upland jungle region without roads. But a decade ago, oil and nickel deposits were discovered and the Government built a highway, which made the area attractive to cattle ranchers. Well-connected Ladino businessmen, generals and politicians found the National Property Registry only too happy to write them deeds to land that the Indians had occupied for centuries. The Indians could do nothing through the legal channels; they had no titles recognized by Ladino authorities. "The large landholders are not capitalists," explained a Government official active in Indian affairs. "They are rich people with a colonialist mentality. And they always say the Indians are at fault for the country's poverty."

That same attitude legitimizes the forced induction of thousands of Indians into the army every year. Soldiers commonly surround the markets of villages and kidnap young men, tie them up for days, force them repeatedly to insult their Indian customs and train them to kill. The army recently began to recognize that the program was counterproductive and modified it. But there continue to be reports of recruits who choose to commit suicide (particularly in the southeastern Jutiapa army camp) rather than kill their brothers.

The guerrillas are fast becoming the only significant political force in the country committed to improving conditions among Indians. Right-wing hit men, who function without fear of Government reprisal, have systematically gunned down moderate leaders who campaign for land reform and gradual social change. Vice President Francisco Villagran Kramer, the most influential liberal in the Government, resigned last September following several death threats.

Growing Indian and liberal support does not assure a final leftist victory in a country with the strongest army in the area and a considerable middle class that has a stake in the status quo. In fact, in the last election, Lucas García only won by defrauding an even more conservative candidate. And although there is growing evidence that the four guerrilla groups in the country have begun a dialogue, sectarianism divides them. The Rebel Armed Forces (F.A.R.), whose worker and student members specialize in urban guerrilla warfare, broke away from the thirty-one-year-old Communist Guatemalan Workers Party (P.G.T.). O.R.P.A. and E.G.P., in turn, split from the F.A.R. But even if the guerrillas were united, their fight against the 18,000-man army would be decidedly uphill. The guerrillas'

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rmaments consist mainly of hunting rifles and .45-caliber andguns. Even those who have automatic rifles are no natch for soldiers armed with Israeli-made Galil assault ifles and supported by 105-millimeter howitzers.

The Carter Administration, to its credit, did not contribute to the Guatemalan Army's buildup, but conservative ressures to abandon human rights will become decisive within the new Administration at a time when Guatemala is beginning to develop its impressive oil reserves. Just after oil ngineers found that the rich Reforma Fields extended below the Mexican border into Guatemala, one U.S. liplomat commented, "It's foolish for our Government to listance itself from Guatemala. Washington is not fully ognizant of Guatemala's potential." Ronald Reagan has lready pledged, during the campaign, not to "force" human rights on Guatemala's leaders. Roger Fontaine, one of Reagan's chief Latin America advisers, recently said that J.S. policy toward Guatemala should follow the model of 'U.S. policy toward Greece at the end of the war."

But the Indians continue to tell the story of Tecun Uman, he last King of the Utatlan empire, who lost his life in a duel vith Spanish conquistador Pedro de Alvarado 450 years igo. According to legend, Tecun Uman will rise from the lead and once more reign over his people with a just hand. n the meantime, Ladino leftists and a growing number of ndians are giving their lives to the cause of justice in Guatemala. □

Counterinsurgency

(Continued From Front Cover)

n Central America. On January 28, Secretary Haig told eporters that "international terrorism"—the Administraion's euphemism for revolutionary and insurgent conflict—"will take the place of human rights in our concern." And another Reagan adviser, Roger Fontaine of the National Security Council, told *The Miami Herald* that if stepped-up military aid fails to eliminate the guerrilla threat to pro-U.S. regimes in Latin America, "the use of military force is an option" that President Ronald Reagan "has to maintain as a possibility."

Although the new infatuation with counterinsurgency has not yet reached the proportions of the Kennedy era, signs of renewed vitality are everywhere. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have established a new Joint Special Operations Command at Fort Bragg to coordinate activities of the services' various "special" units (the Army's Special Forces, the Air Force's Special Operations Force and the Navy's Seals). Creation of the new command, headed by Brig. Gen. Richard Scholtes of the Army's 18th Airborne Corps, suggests a new infusion of interest in counterinsurgency at the highest Pentagon levels.

Despite protests by church leaders and human-rights activists, the White House (first under Carter and now under Reagan) has poured millions of dollars' worth of arms and equipment into El Salvador, along with a growing advisory presence. Reagan will also increase U.S. military aid to Honduras, Guatemala and other Central American countries, thus increasing the chances of a regional conflict.

Elsewhere in the Third World, U.S. aid is again flowing to right-wing dictatorships facing indigenous guerrilla movements. The new (fiscal 1982) military aid request will feature substantial increases for Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines—all of which have long been engaged in U.S.-supported counterinsurgency campaigns against domestic dissidents—and will include fresh outlays for such countries as Oman, Tunisia and Morocco.

After years of concentrating on strengthening NATO, the Pentagon has quietly stepped up training for guerrilla-type engagements. The Marines have established a new jungle-warfare training base in Guam, and the Army has conducted its own jungle exercises in the Panama Canal Zone. And, according to ABC News, the Pentagon has also conducted a series of simulated commando operations in the American Southwest, presumably involving Green Berets, Black Berets (the Army's Ranger battalions) and the super-secret Blue Light anti-terrorist force based at Fort Bragg.

The formation of the Rapid Deployment Force (R.D.F.) means that the United States now has—for the first time since Vietnam—a large force formed specifically for intervention in non-NATO contingencies. And while the new unit's principal function will be protection of the oil flow from the Middle East, R.D.F. components are also being trained for counter-guerrilla operations in other areas, including Central America and the Caribbean.

Not neglected is the growing threat of urban insurgencies such as those in Northern Ireland and Teheran. The Army recently joined with the American Defense Preparedness Association in sponsoring a symposium on "Military Operations in Built-Up Areas." The meeting, classified "Confidential," was held at the Harry Diamond Laboratories in Adelphi, Maryland, and featured talks by American, British and West German officers.

These steps, and others of a similar nature, indicate a growing commitment to unconventional warfare at the highest policy-making levels in Washington. Such moves are being accompanied, moreover, by a political drive to rehabilitate counterinsurgency as a legitimate instrument of military policy. In a recent issue of the *Naval Institute Proceedings*, for instance, two former counterinsurgency specialists wrote: "During the next twenty years, revolutions, civil wars, ethnic hostilities, border wars and proxy conflicts will be the order of the day." Only special forces, the authors concluded, offer "a means of resolving [such] disputes while tiptoeing around the nuclear trip-wire."

As originally conceived by strategists of the Kennedy era, counterinsurgency involved a two-pronged campaign to defeat the guerrillas and to buttress friendly regimes in the Third World. First, there was the military effort designed to locate insurgent cells and forces, isolate them from the rest

Michael T. Klare is a fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C., and author of War Without End: American Planning for the Next Vietnams *(Knopf).*

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of the population, and then destroy them with superior firepower and technology. Primary responsibility for this effort was to be assumed by the host country's own military and police forces, supported, where necessary, by U.S. advisers and technicians. This was accompanied by a political-economic effort (sometimes known as "the other war") designed to redress local grievances and to improve the material well-being of the indigenous population—and thereby generate popular support for the government. This effort, often described as "winning hearts and minds," was considered the responsibility of civilian agencies working with technical advisers recruited from American universities and other nongovernmental organizations.

Essential to this approach was the assumption that the government in power, while possibly corrupt or undemocratic in some respects, could be encouraged to make the reforms necessary to elicit public support. And, because the United States viewed itself as an ally rather than a colonial power, this model further assumed that the host government would assume primary responsibility for the counterinsurgency effort. American involvement was to be limited as much as possible to advisory and supply functions.

Although a fully developed body of doctrine has not as yet jelled to replace the strategies of the Kennedy era, an examination of recent military exercises and policy debates reveals some emerging themes. All of the new policies are predicated upon radically different assumptions about the purpose of counterinsurgency. No longer are counterinsurgents viewed as glorified Peace Corps workers whose principal function is to woo sympathetic peasants away from the alien philosophies of Ho Chi Minh and "Che" Guevara. Today's counterinsurgents tend to rely almost exclusively on military means to overcome the opposition. Gone, too, are any illusions about promoting reform by Third World governments—today's counterinsurgency partners are chosen for their perseverance under fire, not their commitment to social and economic progress in "the other war."

This cynical and mechanistic outlook has produced a new approach to counterinsurgency. The following are the key precepts in the revised counterinsurgency manual:

(*1*) *"Preventive Medicine."* Rather than wait until the insurgents are armed and active to initiate military countermeasures, current counterinsurgency doctrine calls for the identification, arrest and imprisonment (or outright assassination) of suspected dissidents *before* they can organize insurgent cells. To be successful, these efforts require the constant scrutiny of citizen behavior by the police and government informers, along with the use of modern eavesdropping, surveillance and data-processing systems. In theory, such measures, which have become commonplace in many of the Third World countries ruled by martial law, will preclude the need for full-scale military intervention. "Effective policing is like 'preventive medicine,'" former Under Secretary of State U. Alexis Johnson observed. "The police can deal with threats to internal order in their formative states. Should they not be prepared to do th 'major surgery' may be required in the sense that cc siderable force [i.e., military intervention] would be need to redress those threats. This action is painful and expensi and disruptive in itself."

(*2*) *Urban Counterinsurgency.* Whereas earlier counteri surgency strategies were concerned almost exclusively wi the threat of rural guerrilla warfare, current doctrine plac much more emphasis on the problem of urban insurrectic This shift reflects the growing urbanization of Third Wo societies, plus the fact that revolutionary movements are i creasingly aiming their organizing efforts at the und employed and impoverished inhabitants of the shantytow that encircle most Third World cities. In many of the countries, warns Prof. Lucian Pye of the Massachusetts I stitute of Technology, "the teeming urban populations a so highly politicized that they have become in a sense load revolvers pointed at the responsible governments." preserve order in the face of these "revolvers," U. strategists favor the creation of omnipresent, militariz police forces equipped with a sophisticated arsenal of ri control and anti-terrorist munitions. This approach, alrea fully tested in cities like Buenos Aires, Belfast and Manila, being refined for use in other countries—including many the industrialized world—that are likely to experience urb disorders in the years ahead.

(*3*) *Rapid Deployment.* Kennedy's advisers urged restrained and *gradual* military buildup in Indochina—preserve the myth of South Vietnamese leadership in t counterinsurgency struggle. Today's counterinsurgen planners, however, universally believe in the need for massive and rapid deployment of troops in order to ove come insurgent forces before they can win support from t indigenous population and thus trigger the kind of pr tracted (and ultimately futile) struggle encountered in Vie nam. This principle is explicitly recognized in the design tion of America's new interventionary army as a Rap Deployment Force, and was tested in recent exercises invol ing the airlift of U.S.-based troops to potential confli zones in the Middle East. To deal with future Third Wor crises, outgoing Secretary of Defense Harold Brown said 1980, our needs "center not so much on additional comb forces as on our ability to move suitably trained ar equipped forces over great distances quickly enough so th they can be of real use at the point of crisis."

(*4*) *Massive Firepower.* In line with the objective destroying insurgent forces quickly, counterinsurgenc strategists now believe that government troops should in mediately employ the full range of weapons at their dispos rather than escalate slowly up the military ladder. Analys once argued that an excessive reliance on firepower cor tributed to the U.S. defeat in Vietnam, but today counterinsurgents argue that a heavy dosage of firepow early in the war would have wiped out the guerrillas whil they were still weak. Instead, they avow, the gradua escalation tactics actually employed by U.S. forces allowe the Vietcong to survive and grow—thus forcing Washingto to escalate much higher than would otherwise have bee

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necessary. "The result of gradualism in Vietnam," Prof. John E. Osgood of Johns Hopkins University observed in 1979, "was to permit the war to drag on at increasing cost and public opposition without the satisfaction of anticipating a clear-cut victory." It is possible to conclude, therefore, "that the United States could and should have won the war by earlier and more extensive escalation." This "lesson," as Osgood puts it, is sure to be applied by the Rapid Deployment Force, which is likely to wield the full panoply of U.S. weaponry from the start in any future intervention in the Third World. And if conventional weapons fail to produce a quick and economical victory, Pentagon officials concede that they are "thinking of theater nuclear weapons" to insure success.

These principles are part of what is rapidly becoming a unified counterinsurgency doctrine. It is increasingly apparent, moreover, that this doctrine will see widespread application in the years ahead. The only remaining questions are when and where U.S. forces will be sent into combat. While no one can predict with any degree of certainty, several Third World conflicts appear particularly inviting to U.S. counterinsurgents.

In El Salvador, of course, U.S.-backed Government forces are fighting a loose coalition of opposition groups known as the Democratic Revolutionary Front. Then there is Oman, where the country's autocratic ruler, Sultan Qabus ibn Said, has long been engaged in a counterinsurgency conflict with rebel forces in Dhofar Province. Although the insurgents, organized as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf, were largely beaten in the mid-1970s by combined Omani, Jordanian and Iranian forces operating out of Salalah, Dhofar Province was never fully pacified and there have been reports of renewed guerrilla activity (usually ascribed, in official communiqués, to meddling by the Soviet-equipped forces of neighboring South Yemen).

Because Iran no longer serves as a "regional gendarme," Sultan Qabus has turned to the United States for additional military aid. Washington's desire for bases in the Persian Gulf area to serve as staging areas for the R.D.F. has caused it to increase such aid. U.S. advisers are already assisting the Sultan's armed forces, and it is possible that larger U.S. contingents will be sent in the near future. And if the Popular Front guerrillas are ever joined by Yemeni forces—a not impossible scenario, given the historical enmity between Oman and South Yemen—U.S. intervention is almost foreordained. As Capt. Richard Stewart of the Marine Corps noted in a recent issue of *Naval Institute Proceedings*, "Epic events in this critical but unstable region could make Oman, Muscat and Salalah as familiar as Inchon, Da Nang, or Teheran."

In the Western Sahara, Moroccan forces have been fighting a protracted desert war against guerrillas of the Polisario Front. At first, Washington refused to recognize Moroccan sovereignty over the region, and turned down King Hassan's requests for counterinsurgency equipment; in 1980, however, President Carter (under heavy prodding from Zbigniew Brzezinski) overruled the State Department and approved the sale of six Rockwell OV-10 "Bronco" counterinsurgency planes and twenty-four Hughes 500-MD helicopter gunships for use in the Saharan war [see Daniel Volman, "Saharan Freeze," *The Nation*, November 24, 1979]. Although the U.S. presence is now limited to a few technicians and advisers, it could easily expand as Washington steps up support for the eminently pro-Western King Hassan.

The United States has also been intermittently involved in local guerrilla conflicts in Angola and Zaire. In Angola, the United States will probably resume aid to anti-Government forces in the north and south; such aid was banned by the Clark amendment in 1976 (which bars U.S. assistance to any group in Angola for military purposes) but can now resume under new legislation adopted last year. President Reagan has already promised to remove existing restraints on covert actions by the Central Intelligence Agency, and it is likely that Angola—ruled by a Marxist regime with Cuban military assistance—will prove an early target for such operations. Across the border in Zaire, insurgent forces have twice staged insurrections in mineral-rich Shaba Province, and in both cases U.S. combat-support units were used to supply the French, Belgian and Moroccan forces brought in to restore order. Despite intensive efforts to improve Zairian military capabilities, the region is still unstable, and U.S. forces may well be employed in the event of another Shaba uprising.

Finally, there is the familiar battleground of Southeast Asia, where long-simmering guerrilla conflicts in Burma, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines may prompt a new U.S. involvement. Although most U.S. leaders once adopted a "never again" stance on the use of American combat forces in this volatile area, military aid has risen steadily over the past few years and it is only a matter of time before advisers are introduced in significant numbers. And while Washington undoubtedly is wary of any major commitment, the growing concern over guerrilla warfare could eventually impel U.S. leaders to risk another drawn-out jungle war.

Americans should be alarmed by the current revival of counterinsurgency. Once before, in the early 1960s, a President's obsession with guerrilla combat led us into a calamitous war; now, with another President eager to revive the counterinsurgency establishment, we face the risk of a disastrous encore. Indeed, for anyone familiar with recent history, the current U.S. buildup in El Salvador and the Middle East appears all too similar to the initial U.S. buildup in Southeast Asia. First come the "advisers" to provide training in counterinsurgency; then more advisers to accompany allied troops in combat; then regular U.S. troops to protect the advisers; then more troops to support the first batch, and then it is just a short step to full-scale war.

As of now, Washington has only taken the first few steps in this direction. But unless we resist the revival of counterinsurgency, it will only be a matter of time before the next steps put us on the road to catastrophe. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

The Grunwalding of America

NICHOLAS VON HOFFMAN

In 1941, Henry Robinson Luce, co-founder, proprietor and editor in chief of Time Inc., wrote an essay in *Life* magazine proclaiming this "The American Century." Forty years later, almost to the day, his corporate epigones have offered up a profusion of essays on the theme of "American Renewal." "The American Century," it turns out, is in mid-life crisis, according to *Time*, *Life*, *Fortune*, *Sports Illustrated*, *People*, *Money* and *Discover* (combined circulation: 12.5 million; combined readership: 68 million). Compare Luce's words with those of Henry Anatole Grunwald, now corporate editor in chief, whose introductory essay precedes the more specialized ones in each magazine.

Luce:

> The vision of America as the principal guarantor of the freedom of the seas, the vision of America as the dynamic leader of world trade, has within it the possibilities of such enormous human progress as to stagger the imagination. . . . Let us rise to its tremendous possibilities. . . . [We must] accept wholeheartedly our duty and our opportunity as the most powerful and vital nation in the world and in consequence to exert upon the world the full impact of our influence, for such purposes as we see fit and by such means as we see fit.

Grunwald:

> Intractable inflation seems to have turned the good life into a treadmill and has shaken our confidence in the future—America's last frontier. Our industry appears to have lost its productive magic, its daring, and sometimes even its competence. Our government is intrusive, inept—and expensive. Our democracy too often produces only mediocrity and deadlock. Abroad, allies whom we rescued from the shambles of World War II defy us, former enemies . . . often outproduce and outtrade us. Our power is challenged by growing Soviet ambitions.

This is the melancholy message that Time Inc., with sales just under $3 billion last year, is using its formidable resources to disseminate across a nation facing "a crisis of moral responsibility." Nearly a million bucks have been spent on TV promoting this somber renewal, this spring without buds, shoots or shrill happy peepers. In booklet form, the whole packet of essays is being given away to the great and highly placed and fed to a skillion schoolchildren who may find this message urging work, repentance and sacrifice somewhat less diverting than the rest of the contents of *People*. Although, to give that innocuous publication due recognition, its "American Renewal" essay, a collection of vignettes of nice people doing nice things for other nice people, was the only happy sound in the five magazines I reviewed.

Adults who read the essays in the other magazines would be mistaken to let the eye slip through them and chuck them in the trash as simple propaganda. They're too tough, too patchy, too tentative, sometimes too intelligent and sometimes too silly to be propaganda. Taken together, they are what the upper ranges in the company think—this corporation which is most closely associated with banking, insurance, advertising, the older, brick-smokestack industries and the slow-moving blue chippers with the low betas.

It is impossible to say whether outfits like Time Inc., when they do things like the "American Renewal," reflect the views of their organizational peers, or whether they influence and form them. It is probably both, in a process whereby ruling circles determine what they want, what they need and what they believe, not by the Marxian magic of infused class knowledge but by talking, meeting and reading in much the same way that other groupings define themselves and their objectives. Hence you may learn more about Time Inc. from these essays than about America or about Administration policy and opinion. They're not beating Ronald Reagan's drum for him. Indeed, some of what they recommend is at variance with what he recommends, as it is also with what other business elements would like to see. These are the Ivy Yoo-Hoos, not the Trans-Mississippi Yahoos.

They are preppies and their prepp values come glowing clear in the *Sport Illustrated* contribution to "America Renewal." The silk rep spirit turns *SI* view of contemporary sports into dirge, a weeping and a mourning for th loss of amateurism. The horrid money the tasteless commercialism, the vulga avarice of today's athlete, team owne and TV sports broadcaster are deplore as they can only be deplored by joll chums who know that "sports exalt fair play." Winning is not so your agen can get a full nelson on the genera manager at contract time but because is, in the words of Yale prexy, Dr. A Bartlett Giamatti (who else but an Ol Blue?), "a joy and discrete purit . . . something powerful, indeed beauti ful . . . something as necessary to th strong spirit as striving is necessary t the healthy character." Congratulation to *SI* for getting so many well-know chaps to utter so many noble vacuitie on the bracing effect of sports on socie ty, man, horse and dog. "I was a chin less mother's boy. Crew made me,' quoth Dr. Benjamin Spock.

The best is the sidebar on *Tom Brown's School Days*, anent whether o not His Grace, the Duke of Wellington did in fact say, "The battle of Waterlo was won on the playing fields of Eton.' The Iron Duke's red squares didn't hav to face Napoleon's tac nukes, but fo the preppy, spunk and spirit will over come even radioactive rugger fields Spunk wins at war, at games and ever at economics—spunk and the right mora disposition, so in the middle of *SI*' essay we find this quote, which migh more properly have been in *Fortune* " 'Teamwork historically is, I think the American way,' says Akio Morita chairman and co-founder of Sony, 'bu your managers got greedy; they viewec the worker as a tool. That has not beer good for the American products o American companies, and it has hur your competitive stature in the world.' "

Opening the pages of a Time Inc publication to find a Nipponese in dustrialist calling our American cap italists "greedy" is not unprecedented Twelve years ago, *Time* magazine dic another one of these cosmic wrap-ups in which it said that "the great corpora tions . . . do not yet seem prepared fo the idea that the business of busines could be this: to sell goods and services

Nicholas von Hoffman is a syndicated columnist and author, most recently, of Make-Believe Presidents *(Pantheon).*

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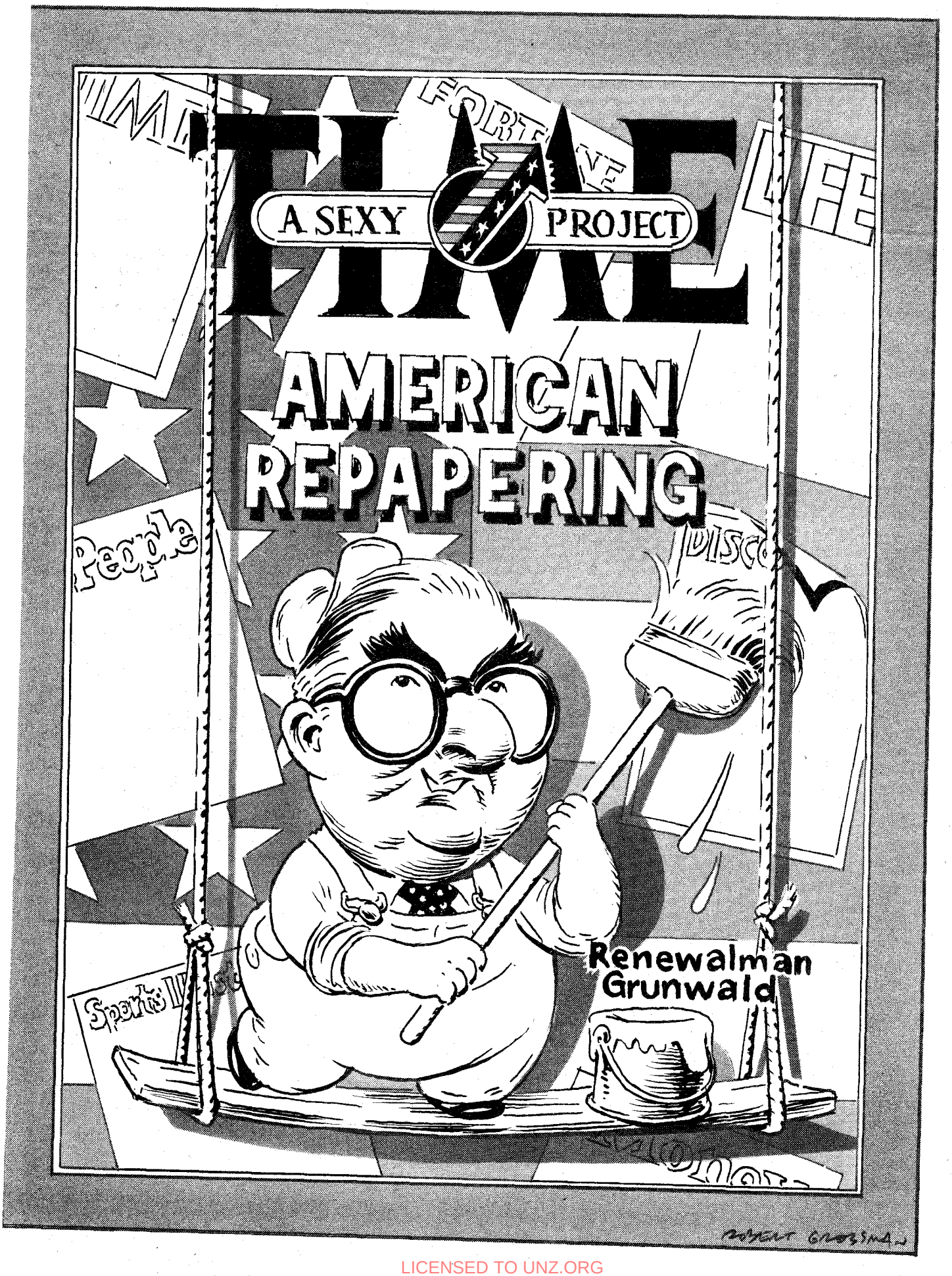

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whose influence on American taste and values might—instead of being mediocre and sometimes baneful—be inspiring and benign." Of course, that was twelve years ago, when the world looked different and Time Inc. was saying, "The government should offer refuge as 'the employer of last resort,' " and was pushing for the negative income tax and ways to cut arms expenditures, even as it was hinting that we as a nation were getting so rich and money was getting so plentiful it would soon not be worth the stealing:

> In the past ten years, the growth of the American economy has far outstripped the comprehension of most individuals; even economists are at a loss for an abstract theory to explain it. But beyond dispute is the fact that never before has man transmuted energy and raw materials into wealth at such a fantastic rate. With 7 per cent of the global land mass and 6 per cent of its population, the U. S. produces about one third of the world's goods and services. Every five years the American economy grows by the equivalent of that of West Germany, the third largest industrial nation.

A dozen years later, *Fortune*, in its "American Renewal" presentation, tells its readers

> something is seriously wrong with the economy. . . . In more and more product lines, manufacturers in other countries seem to be able to offer combinations of price, quality, and service that win the preference of customers, not only in markets abroad but in the U.S. too. The devastation of the American automobile industry is only the most conspicuous symptom . . . real wages in the U.S. have pretty much stagnated since 1973.

An epochal turnaround! Yet the causes of this hairpin turn downward in our affairs get very little treatment, save inferentially in *Fortune*'s recommendations for getting us moving again. Thus *Fortune* would like to see changes in government regulation, but advances no claim that the pink lung perverts are really to blame for the high cost of production. Many blue chippers of the sort Time Inc. consorts with can live in profit and growth with high environmental safety standards. Indeed, *Fortune* not only doesn't ask for the abolition of regulation; it even proposes what may be a superior method of getting industrial America to cut down on its pollutions.

In short, no clarion calls here. Instead, there is a series of reasonable if quite debatable proposals—which have nothing to do with Congressman Jack Kemp's walk on the supply side but are a bundle of frumpy businessmaniac measures that will (*a*) make more money available for new plants and equipment by (*b*) cutting back the standard of living of most people for a while. In other words, we are to cut back on our spending, put the money in the bank and have a little patience while it is invested in a new, retooled horn of plenty. There is to be no general tax cut à la Kemp-Roth, although there is to a "hold-down in public spending" that more money is available to t private sector. Not exciting but sensibl much more sensible than *Fortune*'s pr posal for "tax incentives to encoura investment." This is dear to the heart many a businessman, but the problem that nobody knows if tax incentives that is, getting a break on your taxes return for new investment—work.

If you're not paying much of a tax start with, a proffered tax cut isn't g ing to be a convincing investment ince

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/e. In the steel industry last year, LTV ıid an estimated 12 percent tax on ofits, U.S. Steel—which had paid ne in 1977, 3.2 percent in 1978 and ne again in 1979—paid an estimated percent. Armco Steel paid about 38 rcent. Which of these firms will be oved to take advantage of new incen-ves? Jiggering around the tax rates, hich have already been yanked and rked into incomprehensibility, is a ıestionable path to new investment.

We already have substantial tax in-ntives, but what they get anybody to o is anybody's guess. A call to the reasury's Office of Tax Analysis last eek got a confession that the only in-estment they were reasonably sure rose from the current tax incentives was for ramps and wide doors for "the physically challenged," as the welfare bureaucracy likes to designate people in wheelchairs. As of this date, tax incentives have been shown to be about as successful in reindustrializing the country as the public housing program has been in sheltering the poor.

Time Inc. doesn't share the Reagan Administration's ardor for less government: it merely wants to shift the arrangements. So *Discover*, the company's magazine of science, calls for the expenditure of a paltry $200 billion to perfect fusion-powered electricity. And in a spirit of largess not seen since the Great Society deflated and collapsed, the same publication proposes to put excess science Ph.D.s to work teaching grammar school and pay them at the rate of university professors.

Along the same lines of inviting the government intervention that other capitalists abhor, *Fortune* would "create an industrial counterpart of the Agricultural Extension Service." These industrial boy scouts would get tips on productivity from one company in an industry and then pass them around. Most businessmen would regard such little helpers as taxpayer-supported government spies stealing their stuff for the competition.

Fortune offers other proposals for the government to bear a higher portion of the cost of research and development, along with a quick acknowledgment that perhaps one reason American commercial invention appears to lag is that so much talent is going into weaponry. The Japanese, who spend virtually nothing on military R&D, perfect the home video tape recorder, and we perfect the Sting-Slasher rocket that's so accurate it can find, focus on, and stick a neutron bomb up the ass of a mosquito perched on the left ear of a milch cow in the Ukraine.

Twelve years ago, *Time*'s essay contained much undoubtedly sincerely felt blather about po' folks, blacks and other then-stylish riffraff. This time around, far less is made of the *angoisse* of the poor. *Fortune* contains a piece that is civil and rational and, up to a point, justifiably satisfied with racial progress. However, even with a fine sidebar essay by *The Washington Star*'s Roger Wilkins, we are left with the astonishing conclusion that once the older generation of less well-educated blacks die off, employment and income gains will bring black and white into something close to purchasing power parity. (Women pretty much get short shrift as an approved minority.)

Not that Time Inc. is being brusque or insensitive, or any of those bad, uncaring words. Supreme Editor Grunwald calls for "a measure of 'affirmative action,' preferably without the excesses of government bureaucracy." The gigantic media corporation does make one exception to its opposition to using government power for affirmative action to correct racial imbalance. That's in the Army, where, according to *Time*, "the racial balance does not reflect that of the nation; the percentage of blacks has risen from 18 percent to 33 percent. Since 1973 nearly 40 percent of the Army's recruits have not finished school." It's impossible to divine from

MacSWEENEY'S LAMENT

> . . . Tim revives—see how he rises!
> Timothy rising from the bed! Says,
> Whittle your whiskey around like blazes—
> *Thanum an dial*, do you think I'm dead?

My ancestors sat up straight
in chairs, stared from photographs
posed, formally clutched
porkpie hats amid
aunts on Brooklyn roofs.

Their dresses dissolve on those
Sundays, vacuumed into time
lapsed between losing
the intonations of speech, hair,
teeth and kin.

My own face, paled, fits there,
then fades like a holycard:
a Chieftain's name, engraved in its
own ancient assonance
on the reverse.

Now I lie down in the kitchen.
They welcome the corpse that
gives life widely, a wake, an
excuse to sing to dance on the
goat's bone and skin.

The drum and pipes drone
and I dance along in hell—
the saints rain down
on them like stones—
the aromas of sanctity, left behind.

This, the saddest of races,
whose thoughts once came through their eyes.

Theresa Sweeney

Theresa Sweeney earned a Master of Fine Arts in Writing from Columbia University. This represents the first publication of her poetry in a national magazine.

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the text whether this means they're afraid to give guns to the niggers or they think they're too dumb to die for the country. Either way or anyway, they propose mandatory affirmative action to whiten and brighten the Army through imposition of the draft.

In the "American Renewal" effort, *Time* carries the foreign policy water by hewing to the currently popular line in Washington, although without the deranged fanaticism of our national security Ayatollahs. Thus, the magazine wants more missiles, but has retained enough of a sense of proportion to realize that the MX missile is rather more laughable than dangerous. It does its hip-hip for the neutron bomb while at the same time conceding that the restoration of American nuclear superiority may be beyond our reach: "The U.S. must learn to live with parity." In the main, though, it is more confusion than policy that *Time* recommends. At the same time that it admonishes the United States to "take the lead in trying to restore détente," it proposes that the "U.S. should look for ways to play on Soviet vulnerabilities, particularly in Eastern Europe and China, in order to discourage Moscow's expansionism elsewhere." This will make it easier for us to undertake a bit of expansionism on our own, for there "are opportunities for the U.S. to take the offensive on behalf of its own interests in the Third World."

The grab-and-gimme aspect of this is less disconcerting than its vagueness. There is no part of the world *Time* doesn't invite us to dabble in, and not simply to serve our material interests. In Africa we should understand that "the U.S. has interests far broader than mere access to minerals." The sky's the limit for futzing around in other people's real estate with no precise goals or objectives.

I can appreciate unalloyed selfishness, such as marching in and taking the oil from the Saudi Arabians. Who likes to pay $1.50 for gas, and who's ever met a Saudi, anyhow? But *Time* wants to go further. *Time* wants to play Dr. Universal Fixit: "The U.S. should provide military protection against outright invasion and assist Saudi security forces against subversion, but it should also keep pressure on the royal family to clean up its more conspicuous corruption and help the government with the social turmoil that so often accompanies booming economic development." The way we wisenheimers managed social turmoil in Iran, no doubt. It would be kinder to steal the Arabs' oil and then promptly leave.

To realize this dementia, *Time* falls in with current Washington globethink, namely the conversion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization into a military force operating all over southwestern Asia, the Horn of Africa and the Persian Gulf. Man, oh man, ain't the natives in their dhows going to hiccup when they see a Norwegian battleship steaming up the Strait of Hormuz? The Vikings are back!

In theory, corporations like Time Inc. submit every proposal to the test of profitability. Would that they did. Alas, even Olympians like Henry Anatole Grunwald, commander in chief of all Time Inc.'s scribes, researchers and checkers, can start seeing red, white and blue when it would be better for all of us if he'd stick to hallucinating dollar signs. Nowhere is *Time*'s foreign policy costed out; nowhere are the contradictions, inconsistencies and omissions resolved. It's as though the editors of each served up what they thought their respective readers would like to be told.

This year's "American Renewal" is not what Luce's would have been. Go only knows what the old man woul have said, but it wouldn't be this flop py, sloppy corporate pussycat stuff which is not so much slick as it i careful. He would have known tha you can't have any kind of renewa based on guarded opinion. Henry Rob inson Luce was a reactionary *mensch* but a *mensch* nevertheless, an therefore infinitely superior to an committee they can assemble at the to of the Time tower above Sixth Avenue

It remains only to speculate why the did it. Why recommend a policy tha cuts people's purchasing power whe you are primarily a consumer-good advertising medium? Fear—lest to much greed now result in much mor trouble later? Maybe. Or maybe this i one of Time Inc.'s periodic promotiona efforts in which they customarily tak some high-toned, tassie-fa-la topic lik "Mankind: Does It Have a Future?' and run with it.

For whatever reasons, they have don it, and you can be sure it will have th same influence and lasting effect as 1,200-page report by a Presidentia commission on national priorities. [

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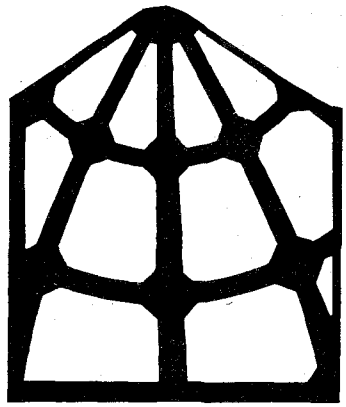

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THEATER.

TEPHEN HARVEY

lose of Play

When I attended a preview of *Close of Play*, the Simon Gray comedy currently in its American remiere at the Manhattan Theatre lub, the play I thought I saw was a awed but agreeable diversion crafted ong the conventional lines of such revious Gray efforts as *Butley* and *'therwise Engaged.* Like its predessors, this play seems to be about man delicately treading the line etween selfishness and self-preservaon, as he tries in vain to defend his rivate turf against the incursion of a ıccession of his wounded intimates. ndaunted, they persist in unloading ıeir burdens of pain and disappointıent on him. Usually, Gray's heroes ɔust with these intruders by dint of ıeir own eloquent loquacity, but the eapon of choice for *Close of Play*'s entral figure is silence; apart from a ıuffled groan at the close of Act One nd four cryptic words late into Act wo, Gray's present protagonist oesn't utter a sound during the entire ength of this play.

Not that he has much of an opporunity. Torpidly rooted in a comfy armhair for the duration of a family athering in his solidly bourgeois counry house, the patriarchal Prof. Jasper pencer is nattered at in turn by two ons—one an alcoholic interviewer at he BBC, the other a hearty, adulterous hysician—their respective put-upon pouses, his cheerily malingering ıousekeeper and the woebegone widow f his late and favorite offspring, ecently killed in a motorcycle accident. Each is so absorbed in his own litany of woe and self-justification as to ignore he fact that Daddy is contributing precious little to these urgent tête-àêtes. Instead, each of them salves his suffering by vilifying the others, invecive volleying past Jasper's disgruntled ears, until the hostilities of the moment cease in belated deference to the genteel ancestor sitting in their midst.

Jasper's muteness aside, *Close of Play* sounded to me like any one of many recent claustrophobic *Kammerspiele* concerned with the nuclear family in rampant decline—*To Grandmother's House We Go* shorn of the wit and wisdom of Miss Eva Le Gallienne. I'd dismissed the protagonist's telling silence as the one arbitrarily symbolic element in an exceedingly naturalistic play, placed there a bit obviously to stress the deafness of the human spirit to any plight but one's own. It just goes to show how obtuse you can be. According to an interview with the playwright subsequently published in the Arts and Leisure section of *The New York Times*, Jasper isn't really there at all, in the sense that the other characters are. He's dead, you see—Gray is most emphatic on that score—and apparently doomed to re-experience in distilled form the tensions that habitually besieged his misbegotten clan. Gray wanted the whole matter cleared up once and for all on the occasion of *Close of Play*'s New York production, since the audience at London's National Theater tended to the impression that Jasper was merely an elderly man afflicted with a stroke, or something prosaic like that. It was the playwright's hope that an American staging that was more "full-blooded" than its English predecessor would make his central conceit apparent to all.

Well, it doesn't, and I don't think Lynne Meadow's direction of a uniformly capable cast is in any way to blame. Considering how scrupulous Gray is in strewing his play with revelations of his other characters' closely guarded secrets (daughter-in-law Maggie's illicit liaison with her husband's late brother and subsequent abortions, son Henry's affair with an anorectic patient), it seems a little churlish of him to be so circumspect with the principal bombshell stored away in his arsenal. Viewed in retrospect, *Close of Play* does afford us with a few tantalizing hints, such as Gray's manner of opening and closing each act with the image of the dumbstruck Jasper frozen in a shaft of spectral, bluish-green light surrounded by darkness. However, Jasper's congealed expression could be meant to convey anything from rigor mortis all the way down to constipation, the most likely explanation being that the old gent is simply lost in reverie until his obstreperous brood starts invading his sitting room and penetrating his consciousness.

In fact, once you've been let in on Gray's little ruse, *Close of Play* becomes more speciously mystifying than ever. There was something poignant in the notion of such a man forced by decrepitude to endure the unceasing evidence of his family's doleful short-

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comings, even if his past misdeeds were in part responsible for them. Yet it turns out that some more complicated supernatural explanation is in order, and Gray has wrapped this character in such an impenetrable veil of enigma that we can't know, or care, what has brought him to this plight. If the ghostly hero has chosen to conjure up this family *tableau vivant* out of his memories, why has he omitted the two figures we're told he really cared about, namely his likewise departed wife and son? Perhaps he's merely curious about the fate of the living family members he's left behind. Or else, one might imagine that this is the eternal price Jasper must pay for his lifelong aloofness to the rest of this lot: he's forced to put up with an infinity of their whining, while forever deprived of visitations from his two beloved ones. But that's just idle supposition on my part; if Gray is going to be so cagey with us about the mortal state of his protagonist, he certainly won't be particularly forthcoming about that specific vision of the hereafter he has lying in store for the professor.

Under these muddled conditions, if Jasper's silence seems like a perverse tic on his part (or Gray's, or God's), his sudden lapse into speech is less illuminating still. His blurted exclamation that "the door is open" has a portentous ring to be sure, and in my pre-Arts and Leisure ignorance I'd assumed this marked his grateful awareness that impending death would extricate him from these familial wranglings for good and all. Since it turns out that Jasper has already passed through any metaphoric portals that might come to mind, his little speech resounds with a hollow rhetorical flourish, prompting the audience to that very misreading of the play which Gray claims to find so exasperating.

To make any real sense of this metaphysical subtext would require some form of divine intercession on behalf of the cast, but the actors play the script's tangible layer of brisk, bleak drawing-room comedy for all it's worth. Director Meadow shapes the clashes between the brothers and their mutually contemptuous wives with real dramatic gusto. The desperate bonhomie of John Horton's Henry vividly complements John Christopher Jones's besotted volatility. And the clash between Veronica Castang, as the anguished, prattling Marianne, and Caroline Lagerfelt as cool, lacquered Maggie, generates real theatrical sparks during the play's second half. In the all-too-elusive central role, William Roerick ably mimes everything from revulsion to compassion at the sight of his offspring's emotional pyrotechnics. It's not his fault that *Close of Play* pivots on a lifeless gimmick whose vital signs are visible only to the eye of the author. □

FILMS.

ROBERT HATCH

Caddie
The Dogs of War
American Pop

For whatever reason, perhaps because it has been even more conservative and male-dominated than its mother country, Australia seems to have produced an unusual number of young women determined and able to make their way against a society disposed to regiment and quell them. At least one might guess so from the frequent recurrence of the theme in movies coming from Australia's obviously booming film industry: first there was *My Brilliant Career*, then *The Getting of Wisdom*, and now *Caddie*. All these pictures are based on autobiographical accounts, some presented as fiction; they are alike in their lushly photographed nostalgia for earlier days and they share an unqualified enthusiasm for their heroines.

The earliest of these, *My Brilliant Career*, is still the best, principally because it draws on the experiences of a young woman of considerable talent and spectacular audacity, played with charm and exuberance by Judy Davis. The heroine of *Caddie* (her real name is unknown; she was nicknamed for the car by a gambling man who admired her beauty and class) is less accomplished and much more put upon than the young women of the other two films. The mother of two small children, she is flung out of her suburban Sydney house by a husband whom it would flatter to call a skunk, and must support herself in a city where, in 1925, there were no "suitable" jobs for a woman not acquainted with a typewriter or trained to teach. Caddie becomes a barmaid and climbs the ladder of that profession from beer joint to the considerable height of the businessman's lunch.

Over the years, she learns from her customers and fellow workers all there is to know of the seamy side of Sydney. She copes with bedbugs and drunken baby sitters; in the Depression, she almost dies of malnutrition, but is saved by a pair of motherly barrow boys; she resists the advances of the sporty Cadillac owner and succumbs to those of a handsome, somewhat sheep-eyed Greek merchant, who is unfortunately called home on the death of his father. Whatever the vicissitudes, Caddie prevails. She grows wise but no less righteous, older but no less beautiful. Her clothes never fray, her hair shines through the darkest hours.

That is the trouble with the film. Helen Morse, who plays the lead, is an actress of evident talent and she is surrounded by a vivid cast. The sets are meticulous period reconstructions; the customs of a country only just emerging from its frontier days are interesting; the narrative has sufficient incident, both touching and funny. But Caddie has been endowed with an invulnerability that is not only implausible but turns her cold. Despite Morse's considerable gifts for displaying valor and eliciting sympathy, it is hard to sustain much belief in, or compassion for, a heroine who seems to go through life in invisible oilskins. It is another case of the innocence, the faith that goodness and enterprise must win against whatever odds, that repeatedly colors the film romances drawn from Australia's recent past.

The director, Donald Crombie, is able. He keeps the film moving along and gets sharp, persuasive work from the large supporting company. His film, though, lacks the texture of life because he did not see how to make a hard-pressed barmaid admirable without turning her into a monument to Virtue.

Oddly enough, two of the current films that are pitched to the mass market for entertainment (in New York, they both opened at neighborhood theaters in and around Manhattan) take an unsparingly bleak view of life. They come close to saying that people are no damn good, an assertion that cannot be counted on to bring out the crowds in a holiday mood. They are John Irvin's *The Dogs of War* and Ralph Bakshi's *American Pop*.

The Dogs of War, adapted from a novel by Frederick Forsyth, is Irvin's first movie; he is known, however, for

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ing directed the TV version of Le ré's *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy.* e central character is named Shannon ristopher Walken), a cold-eyed ing mercenary with high cheekbones l a low pulse rate, who has recently aped with his life from some Latin erican insurrection and is now aged by an anonymous business up to look into the political stability Zangaro, a small African country ose mineral resources the gentlemen nk of exploiting. Shannon goes over see how the land lies, is detected at snooping by the representatives of local Idi Amin, is savagely beaten l thrown out of the country. He orts back to his employers that ngaro is the fief of a madman, and y hand him yet another packet of ge bills with instructions to rid them that obstacle to their plans.

There follows a longish section in ich Shannon, flying about from New rk to London to Paris, gathers men l equipment and charters a boat to nsport them to the coast of Zangaro. is shopping around seemed tedious, may be instructive to those in- ested in the administrative aspects of mercenary's trade. Once aboard p, the men unpack their weapons, ich looked to me like the latest Buck gers models but may be routine ns in the arsenals of peace-loving na- ns. The firepower of the devices is so odigious that few tactics are needed en the assault comes: Shannon and comrades merely clear Zangaro of ruler, his men and the buildings of headquarters, using solid streams of losive fire, as one might sweep leaves h a firehose.

The film takes every precaution to are the viewer any regret over the ath of anyone. The Zangaro military e sadistic brutes and their women will oot you in the back. Their leader is a ranoid mass murderer. When some ngaran exiles join Shannon's expedi- n and show a knowledge of his sault guns, the name of Cuba is men- ned, and there are knowing smiles. annon's mercenaries are impassive to e point of being almost faceless, and seems motivated by rage against mself. He tries feebly to rekindle an d love affair, and when that fails gets ck to his killing. At the end, he uble-crosses his paymasters by shoot- g their candidate for President of ngaro, a popinjay whom we must all ree was a wretched little conniver.

It is proper, of course, that the mercenary soldier be shown in a poor light, but *The Dogs of War* is so scrupulous in denying the profession any glamour that it seems little more than a dull, rather distasteful way to make a living. Nobody killing nobody is what it comes down to. Perhaps a little reality will color the picture. I quote from an interview given to the *Manchester Guardian* by Trevor Edwards, a mercenary recently returned from Angola, where he was employed by South Africa:

> There was a 12-year-old boy. . . . We wanted his mother to talk, so we tied him up like a chicken with his wrists up behind his back, strapped to his ankles.
>
> Then we played water polo with him, put him in this kind of dam and pushed him about, let him sink. Every so often we took him out. . . . The mother didn't tell us anything. In the end we just left him in the water and he drowned. . . . You get used to wasting people. That's part of soldiering. But they're going too far and I don't enjoy it.

The Dogs of War is perhaps too scrupulously low-key; a little anger might not have been inartistic.

Ralph Bakshi (*Fritz the Cat, Heavy Traffic* and others) has reinvented the animated movie. In technique, not to mention content, his films are a quantum leap beyond Walt Disney's whimsies with Snow White and waltzing elephants, and his driving narratives are on a scale and of a scope entirely unrelated to the delicate, witty abstraction of the Anglo-Canadian Norman McLaren, though McLaren is the only animator known to me who uses the medium with Bakshi's offhand virtuosity.

American Pop, even more than Bakshi's earlier films, seems to recapitulate the whole evolution of animation, moving back and forth from figures in simple line and primary colors seen against flat backgrounds to whole environments—cityscapes, rural panoramas, intricate interiors—that have the subtlety of texture and light associated with fine lithography. There is no trace of puppetry in his company of players; they move as freely as you or I, though sometimes with an athleticism we would not attempt. The illusion is so persuasive that during one dimly illuminated scene I thought, but was not sure, that a live actor had moved in to double for the pen-and-ink star.

The new film covers the twentieth century to date, following the thread of American popular music as it changed from era to era. It begins in a czarist ghetto, moves quickly to Ellis Island, takes heed of the Triangle Shirtwaist fire, burlesque, the gang battles of Prohibition, two World Wars, Korea, Vietnam, Kent State, to end in a hysteria of punk rock and narcotics. There are references to Allen Ginsberg, Benny Goodman, Frank Sinatra, Janis Joplin and many other celebrated embodiments of their times. Among the special capacities of animation is its ability to compress an astonishing wealth of incidents into a relatively short time. And when it suits him, Bakshi runs in bits of newsreel or other period film to pin down his fantasy.

American Pop is funny, subversive, cynical, bawdy and sentimental, thus sharing attitudes innate to the minds of cartoonists during the past century and more. But for all the film's recurrent bursts of energy and manic glee, Bakshi's mood is despairing, or so it seems to me, who can remember almost the whole road he travels. From the little boy fleeing a pogrom to the Mick Jagger-like idol bawling into a microphone against a background of light and sound gone mad, the film records the careers of men in four generations of a family that was always involved in the world of commercial music. These succeeding fathers and sons were variously talented and successful. They made money or married it; quite consistently they lost it. Any happiness that any of them attained proved illusory; all but the last of them came to sad ends, and he looks to be heading for one. This eighty-year odyssey of American popular music begins in vulgarity and ends in desolate alienation.

It strikes me that from the start of his career, Bakshi's temper has been that of stoic pessimism; he wears a skeletal grin. I don't object. He is a man of parts and has every right to his point of view. Nonetheless, it disturbs me. Bakshi has not only the abundant energy of a significant artist but also the social concern and steady vision that usually accompany creativity. I've lived through the greater part of the years spanned by *American Pop*, and survived relatively unscarred; Bakshi makes me wonder if I've been insensitive or just lucky. □

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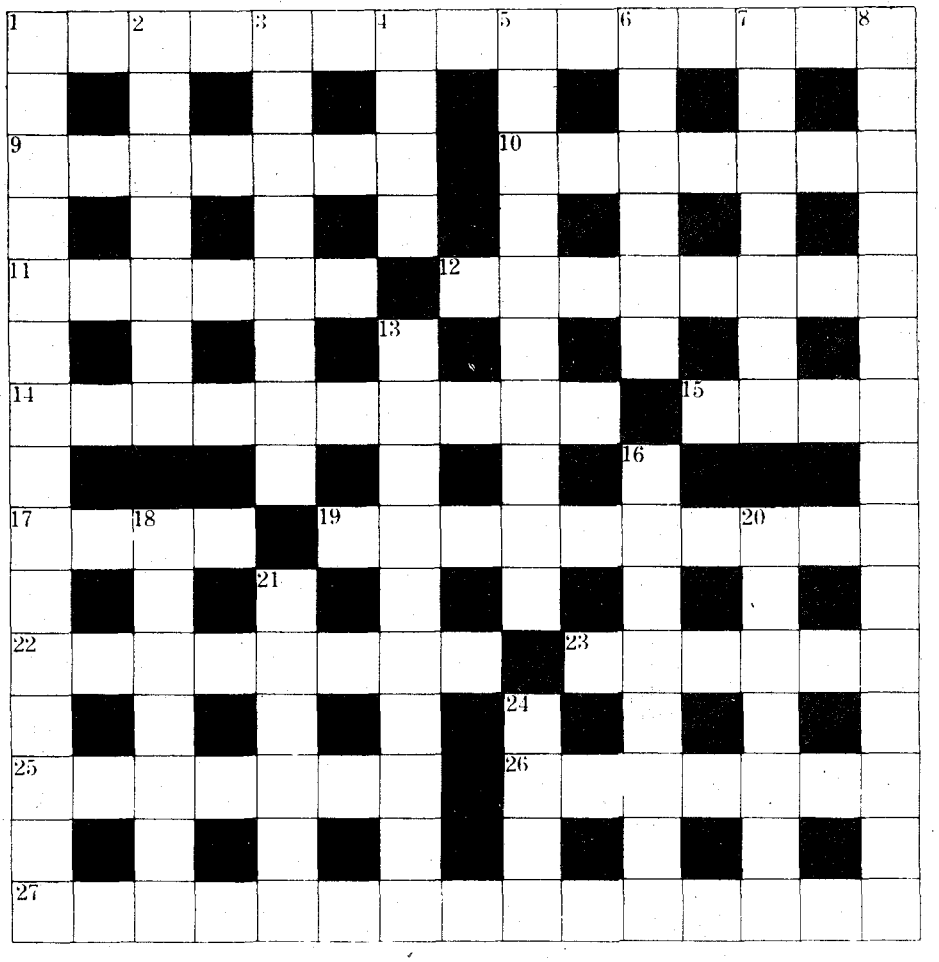
A	R	M	O	R	E	D	■	I	N	T	E	R	I	M
D	■	B	■	D	■	E	■	V	■	O	■	O	■	M
G	A	S	E	S	■	R	A	I	L	F	E	N	C	E
E	■	■	■	T	■	G	■	N	■	■	■	G	■	R
A	L	I	B	I	■	O	Y	E	R	C	O	M	E	■
R	■	N	■	C	■	■	■	■	■	H	■	A	■	E
■	P	A	C	K	R	A	T	S	■	A	N	N	E	X
I	■	N	■	■	■	L	■	E	■	R	■	■	■	L
M	A	Y	F	L	O	W	E	R	■	A	M	A	T	I
A	■	C	■	E	■	A	■	M	■	C	■	B	■	B
G	R	A	N	A	R	Y	■	O	U	T	D	O	O	R
E	■	S	■	R	■	S	■	N	■	E	■	M	■	I
S	T	E	R	N	E	■	A	S	C	R	I	B	E	S

Crossword Puzzle No. 1859

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Certainly not typified by the Lone Eagle. (An English girl on the couch has a noteworthy achievement before her.) (5,2,1,7)
9 Bawling out a fairly large number lying low? (7)
10 What the ringers of St. Clement said, in part, but nothing goes very far. (7)
11 Little Edward Grey about to be grasping. (6)
12 It's extremely painful, with two ribs broken around the same point. (8)
14 Where a literary whitewash job was applied isn't really decided. (2,3,5)
15 One version of the name seemingly hailed in 7. (4)
17 Signs of agreement implying people are dropping off. (4)
19 Possibly a baby is slightly larger when full. (5,5)
22 A simple "C" in a way, to bestow incorrectly. (8)
23 Otherwise a business transaction is a trying experience! (6)
25 Old-fashioned obedient signatory? (7)
26 Buddy, a cloud-like feature shows one talking about the future being in hand! (7)
27 Where the smoke of battle is particularly nasty. (8,7)

DOWN

1 On a personal appraisal form, would it imply previous experience with one of the arts? (Sounds non-intrusive.) (10,5)
2 There's purpose in what one pays for housing and clothes. (7)
3 Beauty is supposedly sprouting from pink seed. (4,4)
4 Some say they don't care for one such fruit. (4)
5 Blooming with a non-U sort of light? (10)
6 A rotter with first-class upbringing—possibly due to Cajun background. (6)
7 In a healthy G.I., energy is a healthy subject! (7)
8 Red-headed old rake has a Lithuanian relative in for a game with highly unfavorable odds. (7,8)
13 For this sort of color, one needs to trace art. (5,5)
16 Don't expect it to shed much light on the Fourth, but one might appreciate it in the ring. (8)
18 Is merit of the French ever distorted? (7)
20 The Cup of Freedom? (7)
21 Walk a little, and you're bound to have it bad for the soil. (6)
24 Discharge point associated with an early Treasure Island character. (4)

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There's much talk these days about the New Right. In your 116 years of existence as a liberal magazine you've seen a lot. What is your opinion of the New Right?

New? What's new about it? Only their haircuts and their polyester suits are new. These fellows have been saying the same thing since Jay Cooke, Jay Gould and J. P. Morgan.

You are referring to some famous businessmen of the nineteenth century, I believe.

That's right. Back when I was starting out we had what Mark Twain called "the Gilded Age." You had to admire those old Robber Barons, though. They stole the country fair and square. None of this public relations snake oil like today. "The public be damned," old William Henry Vanderbilt said. That's what *he* thought about public relations.

Do you mean big business is more public-spirited today?

No. Just more P.R.-minded. When Mobil steals the consumer's dollar, it takes out a long-winded ad saying it is fighting the energy shortage.

What else is different about big business today?

Well, back in the Gilded Age they believed in the survival of the fittest. If you went bust, you didn't run crying to the government for a bail-out. You just went out and stole another streetcar line or formed a new trust.

So Ronald Reagan's New Beginning doesn't impress you very much?

New beginning? I call it the same old soak-the-poor plan for bigger corporate profits. Back then they called it Social Darwinism; now they call it Kemp-Roth. In my day we had John D. Rockefeller. Now we have multinationals. Nothing much has changed. I guess that's why I'm still around. Somebody's got to tell people what to do when they get fed up. That's why we published Robert Sherrill on Big Oil and Mark Green on Cowboy Capitalism and Harry Caudill on the Synfuel Follies and David Noble and Nancy Pfund on Big Business Goes to College. If *you're* getting fed up, just fill out that coupon and subscribe to *The Nation*. I wasn't born yesterday.

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